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The Civil Rights Quarterly

PERSPECTIVES

WINTER 1982

Police vs. Chicanos

Mainland Puerto Ricans: The
Diaspora Nobody's Noticed

Will Business Rush
to Our Inner Cities?

Hispanics Meet the Press

Gentrification: The Ugly Side



Belinda Straits

Guest Editorial

Turning Knowledge Into Power

by Iris F. Mitgang

Twenty women serve in the United States Congress. Seventy women serve as mayors of United States cities. Including the 130 state legislature seats picked up by women in the 1980 elections, 901 women served in state legislative bodies at the end of 1981. Numerous women hold state-wide offices.

In less than 10 years the number of women in political office has more than tripled. But still, women hold only 12 percent of elective office. Four state senates remain all male. Numerous states have only one woman in either house of their state legislatures. No state has a woman governor. Only two women serve today in the United States Senate, and women still raise less than 70 percent of the money male candidates raise for their political campaigns.

But there is great hope for women in politics. The emerging knowledge that women can translate their majority status into political power may catapult women into the political process as equals. In the last several years numerous political committees have emerged on behalf of women and women's organizations. Women's groups contributed some \$2 million last year to feminist political causes and campaigns. New sophisticated women's groups offer fund-raising assistance, political technicians and skillful volunteers to the campaign of worthy women.

In addition, although incumbency was a national political hazard, last year no woman incumbent lost her Congressional seat. At the state level, women running serious campaigns won in proportionally greater numbers than did men. Women are highly electable.

We need the different perspective that women bring to public office. One study has shown that women state legislators were overwhelmingly in favor of humanitarian and social programs, and that they bring fresh approaches to problem-solving. If women's issues are ever to be seriously addressed by lawmakers, we need many more woman lawmakers. We know what one or two valiant women in the legislative process can do in addressing such issues as health care, child care, and retirement. We also know that we would never elect representatives to legislative bodies from one-half of the geographic population of our country; yet, we elect virtually all of the representatives to the highest lawmaking bodies in our land from the smaller half of the United States population, men.

Women are the only majority constituency in the American electorate. We can and should expect more and more of them to become seriously involved in the political process. If the 1970's were a period of teaching women the rudiments of that process, then the 1980's should see that knowledge turn into power. ♦

Iris F. Mitgang is an Oakland, California attorney. She is past Chair of the National Women's Political Caucus, a bipartisan group dedicated to bettering the status of women in politics.

The Civil Rights Quarterly,
PERSPECTIVES

WINTER 1982

VOLUME 13 NUMBER 3

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THE HISPANIC PRESENCE: A SPECIAL REPORT

Puerto Ricans on the Mainland: Breaking Away from Benign Neglect
by Juan Gonzalez

Although they have revitalized "mean streets" from Hartford to Honolulu, mainland Puerto Ricans still face obstacles that are barely recognized.

From Bylines to Bottomlines: Hispanics Meet the Press
by Charles Ericksen

In scrambling for more readers, newspapers are targeting Hispanics but shooting themselves with old stereotypes.

Police Abuse: The Most Volatile Issue
by Ernie Sotomayor

If police brutality is no longer a national epidemic, somebody forgot to tell Southwest Chicanos about it.

Urban Enterprise Zones

Echoes of "Operation Bootstrap" may soon reverberate through our ghettos, bringing jobs and profits — or greed and strife.

Odd Alliance, Good Idea by Brenda Jimenez

Little Freedom in the Free Enterprise Zones
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When housing becomes just a commodity, the poor and minorities are left out on the street.

Room at the Top of Foggy Bottom? by Ronnie Lovler
Moving with glacial speed and sureness, affirmative action is changing the complexion of our foreign service elite.

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Speaking Out: For this nation of immigrants, an "American culture" is a thousand years off.

Credits: Brian Griffin—6, 18, 43, 46; The Puerto Rican Diaspora Documentary Project—8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16; Roland Freeman—24, 26, 27; Celia Strain—Cover, 28, 30, 32-33; Washington Post—23.

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Letters

"Sexist Singular" Faux Pas and Accolade

I work for the Washington State Division of Vocational Rehabilitation where it is extremely important to guard against all forms of discrimination. Therefore, I read with great interest your pages and pages of ways to avoid sex discrimination as suggested by Marie Shear in "Solving the Great Pronoun Problem: Twelve Ways to Avoid the Sexist Singular," in your Spring 1981 *Perspectives*. I discovered some very clever and ingenious ideas on how not to say "he," "his," etc.

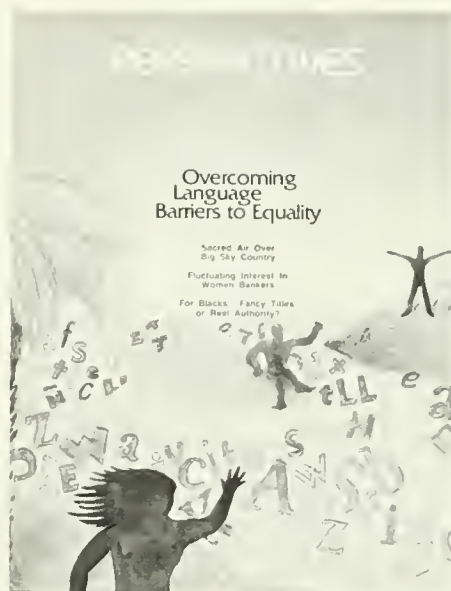
I also discovered what could probably vie for the title of "most ironic *faux pas* of all time." It is difficult to think of any word that could be *more* sexist than "lord." Yet the word "landlord" appears *ten times* in the *corrected* example entitled "Business English: From Sexist to Nonsexist." And this is a publication of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights!

You probably are receiving many letters on this subject, but quite a few of us in the office decided we would like to have our say as well.

Dorothy L. Lindberg
Olympia, Washington



I appreciated the article "Solving the Great Pronoun Problem: Twelve Ways to Avoid the Sexist Singular," in the Spring 1981 issue of *Perspectives*, pages 18-24, written by Marie Shear. If it could be arranged, this would be an exceedingly valuable article for mass distribution. I, for one, would find such an article helpful in communicating the needs for non-sexist language, joined with an excellent solution for most of the problem. As an example, I am a member of the Michigan State Bar Committee on Judi-



cial Qualifications, faced with commenting on proposed rules which contain both sexist language and some of the clumsier options noted by Ms. Shear. In fact, such an article ought to be delivered to all lawyers in the nation, who are among those who deal on a daily level with the most practical problems of written expression.

Andrew Tierman
Attorney at Law
Legal Services of Eastern Michigan
Saginaw, Michigan



Ms. Shear Responds:

I used "landlord" because the archaic flavor of some words makes them seem sexually neutral to me. For example, I say that an admirable woman is "a master of her craft" and that a haughty woman is "lording it over the peasantry." But, thanks to the welcome indignation of Ms. Lindberg and her col-

leagues, I'll use "owner" next time.

Mr. Tierman is uncommonly perspicacious.



Reviewing a Misleading Review

I join others in praising your attractive new format. Your Spring 1981 issue of *Perspectives* was so stimulating that I read it through from cover to cover in one sitting.

The book review section continues its fine coverage of recent publications in the field of civil rights, but I found Martha Farnsworth Riche's "Immigration Waves" to be misleading and ethnocentric in several instances.

Throughout the review Riche equates "America" solely with the United States as if Brazil, Mexico, Canada, and other nations in our hemisphere were somehow less American. She errs as well in writing that the Afro-American ethnic group "is the only one that was not drawn to America by a vision of a better life but brought here against its will." In fact, Mexicans originally became U.S. citizens against their will after the U.S. war with Mexico, a conflict inspired by the expansionist policies associated with Manifest Destiny.

Riche begins her review by asserting as indisputable fact that Native Americans immigrated "from Siberia thousands of years ago." While this is a widely held theory, several others have not been invalidated (e.g., the idea that migration moved west from Africa to South America).

Riche concludes her review on an additionally disturbing, neoconservative note. She writes, "these books all say implicitly that policies to help individuals, not groups, might still be the best an-

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swer." Modifying her own conclusion with the word "implicitly" immediately signals that the books under review might actually say something else entirely, especially in view of the ethnocentrism noted above. Since the U.S. Constitution protects both individuals and groups, Riche's conclusion would seem to undermine those Constitutional policies which specifically protect groups—e.g., the 15th and 19th Amendments. Moreover, since this country's democratic policies emerged out of combined individual/group efforts (the composing of the Declaration of Independence is a good example), there is compelling logic for addressing the social needs of both individual *and groups* as a matter of official policy. Riche appears to think otherwise.

Cordelia (Chávez) Candelaria

Assistant Professor, University of Colorado and Trustee, New World Foundation and National Council of La Raza
Boulder, Colorado



Immigration and Jobs for Minorities

Immigration has become an important national concern. In a Roper Poll of October 1980, immigration placed sixth in interest among 18 topics.

Yet immigration and its effect on population growth, civil rights, and the quality of American life are grossly underreported. Indeed, Americans have not been adequately informed of the negative aspects of immigration.

Can we continue to fail to relate our excessive population growth with our vast social, economic, environmental, and racial problems?

As your (Spring 1981 *Perspectives*) articles stated, we indeed "can't bank on affirmative action" as put forth by the U.S. government. But by ending illegal immigration and reducing legal immigration to the emigration level—about 100,000 annually—we can produce a natural "affirmative action program" which will maximize job opportunities for American minorities.

Graham Smith

Director, AMERIPEACE
Madison, Wisconsin

Editor's Note: The article "Women Can't Bank on Affirmative Action" in the Spring 1981 *Perspectives* dealt with the banking industry's practices in hiring women. A 1980 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights study, *The Tarnished Golden Door: Civil Rights Issues in Immigration* examines the immigration law enforcement process and the civil rights problems encountered by major groups that immigrated to the U.S.



Perspective on the Klan

In your article "The Ku Klux Klan Malady Lingers On" (Fall 1980/Winter 1981 *Perspectives*) regarding Ku Klux Klansman Tom Metzger's 1980 Congressional race as the Democratic nominee in California's 43rd District, author Irwin J. Suall asserts: "Metzger lost but still managed to obtain 35,107 votes...."

Unfortunately, Suall failed to mention that Metzger's Republican opponent, Congressman Clair Burgener, received 292,039 votes (86.5 percent of the total)—the most votes received by a House candidate in the nation's history. (The previous record was held by Leonard W. Hall (R-N.Y.) who collected 267,873 votes in 1940.)

By failing to mention the Burgener total (for perspective), Mr. Suall unduly in-



flates the significance of the Metzger vote.

Robert W. Lee
Salt Lake City



In Defense of Private Organizations: A Rebuttal to Mr. Rabinove

The article by Samuel Rabinove concerning the membership policies of private organizations ("Private Clubs Under Siege," *Perspectives*, Fall 1980/Winter 1981) is flawed both constitutionally and empirically. Its clear thrust is to justify governmental intervention into an aspect of our private lives that is expressly afforded constitutional protection.

The article concedes that both Congress and the Supreme Court have recognized that the membership policies of private organizations are protected by the constitutionally guaranteed rights of association and privacy. The words of Justice Arthur Goldberg quoted in the article eloquently state the applicable

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constitutional principles. The article neither rebuts these principles, however, nor reexamines the law. It dismisses such matters with the words, "Goldberg's opinion notwithstanding...." This seems tantamount to saying, "The Constitution notwithstanding...."

After dispensing with Justice Goldberg and the Constitution, the article proceeds with two sweeping allegations on behalf of its "goal" of "opening up private clubs." Empirical and logical shortcomings, however, characterize both points. It is alleged, for example, that career advancement is so "vitaly affected" by private club membership that governmental intervention is necessary to secure memberships for those who are rejected. Yet, if denial of club membership is such a barrier to advancement, one would expect to find numerous cases before official agencies claiming employment discrimination on this basis. But the article does not cite a single such case, and we are not aware of any cited

elsewhere. Indeed, when the U.S. Department of Labor sought for more than five years to issue a regulation aimed at private organization membership policies, it was unable, by its own admission, to discover a single complaint alleging such discrimination. The Department has finally decided to withdraw that regulation.

The second broad allegation in the article is that many private organizations are not really "private" because their members conduct business on the premises; or because part of the organizational revenue is derived from business sources; or because the organizations engage in community service programs. This charge, however, ignores the fact that court decisions, statutes, and regulations have repeatedly defined private organizations strictly in terms of whether they are open to the public and whether they actually control their membership policies. Ironically, adoption of the criteria advocated by Mr. Rabinove would punish private organizations for their compliance with accepted legal criteria.

But there are even more substantial reasons for objecting to each of these criteria. For example: (1) Linking the private status of an organization to the conduct of business by its members would obviously have a most chilling effect on the members' freedom of speech. (2) Tracing the ultimate revenue sources of private organizations beyond the direct payments by members would mean still further encroachments into the right of privacy of those members. (3) Penalizing private organizations for community service projects would compel them to withdraw into self-centered groups concerned only about the parochial interests of their members.

It is seductively appealing to propose governmental coercion to correct what one perceives as social inequities. Be-

cause membership in a respected and comfortable private organization is regarded as desirable, it is easy to go one step further and regard it as indispensable. But is this really sufficient cause for government to intrude into private relationships historically afforded constitutional protection? Our freedoms are fragile concepts. We must realize that our right to associate in private is just as critical as our right to due process or to equal opportunity. As with all our freedoms, we cannot surrender just a little in order to achieve some preferred social order without jeopardizing it all.

Not only has Mr. Rabinove failed to substantiate the social problem he alleges, but the path he prescribes is one inevitably leading to less individual freedom to structure one's private life as one wishes.

Gerald F. Hurley
Executive Director
National Club Association
Washington, D.C.

Editor's Note: According to Mr. Hurley, his views are endorsed by both the National Club Association, which represents the legal, legislative, tax and other business interests of private social and recreational clubs of America, and the Conference of Private Organizations, a coalition of national private membership groups.



Correction

In the Spring 1981 issue of *Perspectives*, the copyright notice that accompanied Marie Shear's article—"Solving the Great Pronoun Problem: Twelve Ways to Avoid the Sexist Singular"—should have read "© 1981 Marie Shear."

Speaking Out

The Old Country— Pittsburgh and Poland

by Toni Bizyak Breiter

Partly because the United States is a relatively young nation with a richly diverse culture and tradition, we have not developed a clear definition of what is truly American. Yet a resurgence of attempts to apply standards of "American" conduct to everyone in the country has gone too far, pushed mostly by those who have forgotten their own recent history. This is particularly true when the discussion of Americanism turns to the growing number of immigrants entering this country.

Very few Americans can be called native to this country; all the rest of us are immigrants. Have we all assimilated yet into this concept of "American?" Hardly. Let's examine one immigrant family—mine.

Returning to Pittsburgh is like stepping back into a culture that many people assume boiled away in the mythical melting pot.

About two years ago, while I was visiting an uncle who lives in one of Pittsburgh's many ethnic neighborhoods, a friend and neighbor of my uncle stopped by for a visit. Suddenly, the atmosphere changed perceptibly as the language switched from English to the "home tongue" of my uncle's friend. For 20 or 30 minutes, as we visited around that kitchen table, we might all have been in another country. Language, food and

Toni Bizyak Breiter is a freelance writer in Washington, D.C. who writes frequently on civil rights and ethnic issues.

ambience all worked together to bring a little of the old country to the new.

That incident might not be particularly surprising, given the high level of recent immigration. Such scenes must be played often in kitchens throughout the country. What is interesting is that neither my uncle nor his friend are "new" immigrants. My uncle was born in this country more than 50 years ago, and his friend spent most of his adult life here (and he must be over 60 by now). Yet the language of preference for this friend was Polish—the first language learned, the home language.

My grandparents were born in Poland and came to this country around the turn of the century; my children are the third generation Americans of my family to be born here. Still, returning to Pittsburgh, where most of my family lives, is always like stepping back into a culture and language that many people assume had boiled away long ago in the mythical melting pot.

When I go home (an absence of 23 years and an immediate family rooted in Virginia soil still do not prevent me from referring to Pittsburgh as "home"), I can count on getting special Polish foods unavailable where I now live, hearing Polish spoken frequently (even on the radio), attending church services in which the gospel and/or the sermon are delivered first in Polish and then in English, and witnessing at least one tradition being re-enacted. For most of us, "going home" is usually tied to an event—wedding, baptism, funeral—and in my family all of these still involve specific traditional rites. Most major cities in this country have neighborhoods where "foreign" cultures continue to flourish through language, restaurants, special grocery stores, churches, festivals on the mother country's national holidays,

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and the like.

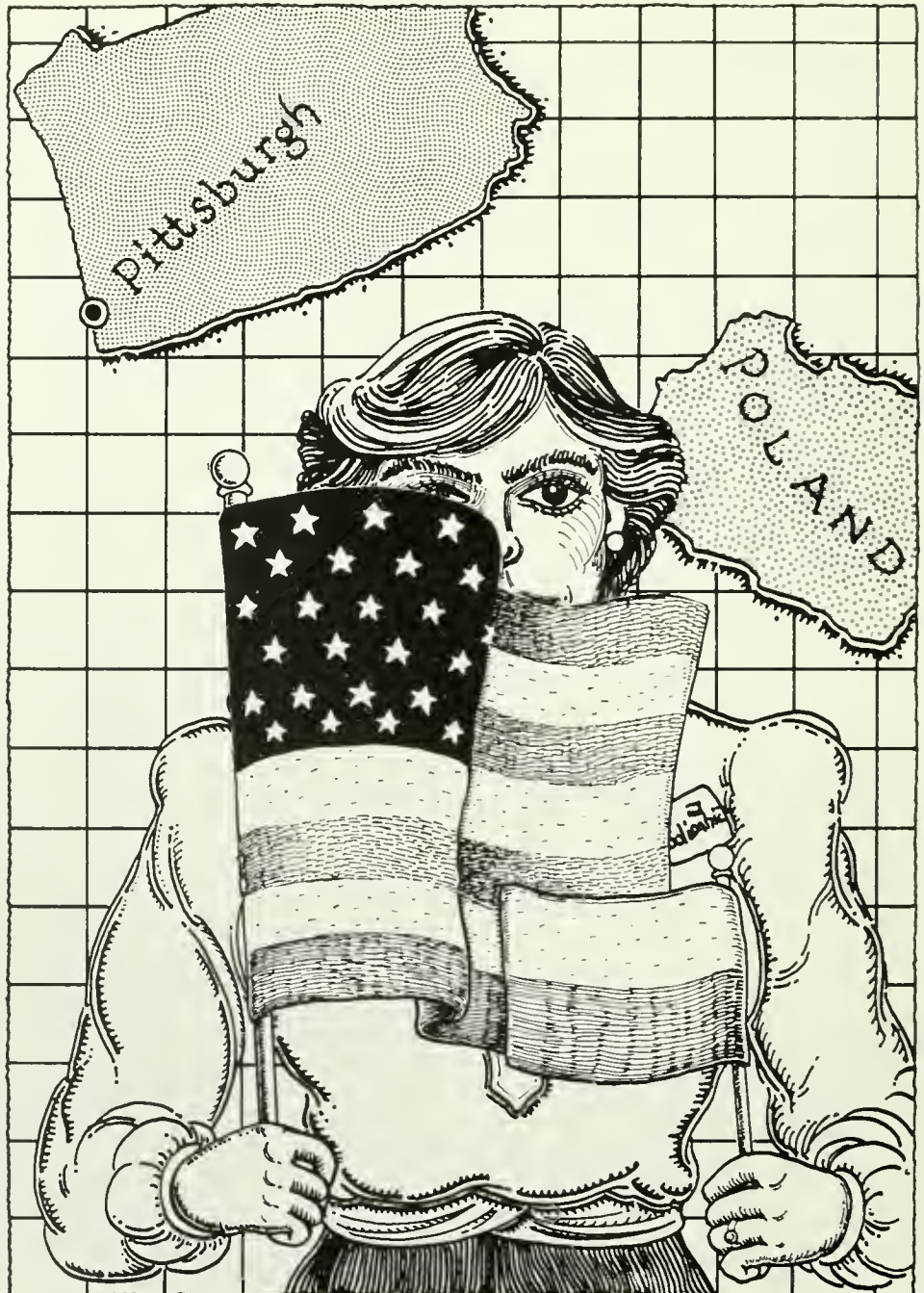
These neighborhoods are not dying, but are stable and even growing. Several years ago, a cousin of mine married and moved to the suburbs of Pittsburgh. After a short while, however, he and his wife moved not only back to the city but back to the same general neighborhood. And this attraction that ethnic neighborhoods hold for families seeking to nurture their roots is not peculiar to Pittsburgh.

Several months ago, a co-worker, also of Polish descent, told me that a friend of his from Chicago was coming for a visit, and since my co-worker was having some special Polish food imported from that "foreign" country of Chicago, perhaps I would like to have some, too. I gave my friend a huge order and used the food in the traditional noon meal on Easter Saturday.

The same prayers were said at my grandmother's funeral as were said centuries ago in Poland.

Two years ago my grandmother died and her funeral was held at the Polish church which was the hub of its neighborhood throughout my childhood. The same prayers were said at her funeral as were said at funerals in that church 75 or 100 years ago, centuries longer in Poland. Eight years ago, when my mother died in Illinois, she was brought home to the same church to find rest among the culture and traditions that formed her life.

After four generations, is the Polish culture being assimilated out of my family? I used to think so, until my daughter



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recently made me think otherwise. My children have not been continuously exposed to the Polish culture, as I was. They are a blending of two different but similar cultures—their father is of Lithuanian extraction. But visits to Pittsburgh, family weddings and other celebrations, and my own deep pride in my heritage have managed to keep their sense of ethnic identity alive. My oldest daughter is 20, and occasionally considers getting married; she recently asked if she could have a Polish wedding. When I explained it would be difficult in Virginia, without our extended family and Polish food readily available, she said without hesitation, "Do you think I could be married in Pittsburgh, then?"

Polish culture is not dying in this country, and neither are any other ethnic cultures. Altered, adapted, perhaps even diluted—but not disappearing. And why should they be? Who one is and where one came from cannot be submerged. When asked for citizenship, we all proudly say we are from the United States, that we are American. But when asked what we are, what our background is, even third and fourth-generation Americans will say Polish, Mexican, Italian, Puerto Rican, Irish or any of a variety of others.

I take pride in the bravery of a Lech Walesa, in the election of a Polish Pope, in a Zbigniew Brzezinski or an Ed Muskie, or in any Polish American who does well in spite of retaining an unpronounceable name, because they supply me with a sense of continuity, of being from something and somewhere.

I have little patience with those who say to recent immigrants, "We made it, why can't you? Why can't you be American like us? Why must you speak your own language? You must erase your ethnic identity to become American."

Many who level such criticism forget, when they do so, that they too have continued their own language and traditions; they have blinders on their memories. We earlier immigrants have not assimilated totally and yet we are Americans. And many of us mourn those parts of our culture and language that have been lost.

Perhaps in a thousand years we might evolve a truly "American" culture.

It will take many, many generations of growing cultural tradition in the United States to erase the memory of "over there" or "the old country." Perhaps in a thousand or two thousand years we might evolve a truly "American" culture and tradition, and perhaps even a distinctive language (the British think we are already well on our way in that direction). In the meantime, we should preserve what we have taken from past immigrants, and encourage newer immigrants in their attempts to retain their languages and cultures. After all, the good that remains from all the contributing cultures will be what forms the distinctive American culture to come.

Bury my past? Me?

Not as long as I can still dance a mean polka at a Polish wedding, get some homemade kielbasa and pronounce "Zbigniew Brzezinski." ♦



PUERTO RICANS ON THE MAINLAND

by Juan Gonzalez

How does it feel to be caught between a rock and a hard place? Evelina Antonetty, of United Bronx Parents, couldn't tell you. The rock's been there so long it's becoming a part of her.

Ramón Rivera, director of Newark, N.J.'s \$1 million-a-year Casa Don Pedro, can't spare the breath. He's too busy pushing.

Orlando Morales, inmate in a Cleveland jail serving two life sentences and two 25-to-life terms for a crime he and many in his community insist he didn't commit, is beginning to think there's a bulldozer on the other side of his personal boulder.

Manny Bustelo, publisher of New York City's *El Diario-La Prensa*, and former head of the National Puerto Rican Forum, is worried but confident he can grind that rock into so many little pebbles, if only foundations and government will listen to some of his plans that would help the 1.8 million mainland Puerto Ricans lift themselves into the economic mainstream of American life.

And so it goes wherever Puerto Ricans arrived over the decades in search of work and new soil for their roots—from the brick-strewn rubble of the South Bronx, across the fertile back-country farm-lands of South Jersey,

Breaking Away from Benign Neglect

through the rumbling U.S. Steel works in Lorrain, Ohio, and as far as the lush mango-laden forests of Big Island in Hawaii. Where are the cracks and crevices for a good grip to yank this rock of discrimination off their backs?

While there are signs that Puerto Rican migration to the mainland may accelerate if the economy of Puerto Rico does not improve, the great migration of Puerto Ricans up from the small Caribbean island is largely over. More than 400,000 came to the states during the 1950s heyday. Though they continued to come in the '60s, by the '70s there was a net migration back. Yet, thirty years after the first great waves, interviews with Puerto Rican leaders in more than a dozen cities re-

veal deep community frustration over continuing, often systematic, denials of basic civil rights.

Though some progress has been achieved in the courts, there is a growing feeling among the local leaders interviewed that the courts, local human relations commissions and other civil rights enforcement agencies are like so many water pistols aimed at a three-alarm blaze.

"I'm pessimistic, especially right now with the budget cuts," says Carmen Chavez, executive director of the Hispanic Coalition of Westchester County, New York, where the Hispanic population doubled to 45,000 within the last decade. "Last year, the whole board of the Human Relations Commission of Yonkers resigned because of a lack of adequate staffing by town leaders," Chavez adds. For more than six months, no replacements were named.

With unemployment soaring in Yonkers, home for most of the county's poor and Puerto Ricans, "there are no bilingual training or skills programs in all of Westchester County," Chavez complains. A few years ago, there were five fully-staffed agencies providing direct service to the Puerto Rican community. Today, there is only one left with funding.

But Yonkers is no exception. In recent years, reports by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, the Puerto Rican Forum and the Puerto Rican Legal

Juan Gonzalez is presently on leave from his job as a reporter with the Philadelphia Daily News.

Defense and Education Fund have all painted similar pictures of the distressing economic and social situation of most mainland Puerto Ricans who have the lowest median family income among Hispanics (\$9,900 in 1980) and half of the median family income of white Americans.

Puerto Ricans have the highest incidence of poverty of any ethnic or racial group in the nation. In 1977, for example, while 39 percent of Puerto Ricans were living below the Federal poverty level, only 9 percent of whites, 31 percent of blacks, and 21 percent of Mexican Americans were in the same situation. Concurrently, Puerto Ricans were the least likely of any ethnic group to own a home.

Since more recent arrivals, such as Cubans or Filipinos, have suffered less unemployment or poverty than that faced by Puerto Ricans, the limited time Puerto Ricans have lived here is hardly the cause of their continued lack of economic and social equality. An observer is either forced, then, to accept some wild-eyed racial and ethnic inferiority theories to explain the Puerto Rican predicament, or conclude that something in the American environment is thwarting the efforts of Puerto Ricans to become part of the American mainstream.

This is not to say that some Puerto Ricans have not "made it." Between 1960 and 1970, the number of Puerto Ricans in professional, technical, managerial and administrative jobs more than doubled, from 15,869 to 34,016. But compared to the overall Puerto Rican population growth, that 34,000 represented a smaller percentage of the labor force than in 1950. That is, whereas 10.7 percent of Puerto Ricans had the higher skilled and better paying jobs in 1950, by 1970 the percentage had declined to 8.9 percent.

Those Puerto Ricans with higher incomes tend to live in smaller towns or suburban areas—in places like Suffolk County, Long Island, in Rochester, N.Y., or Plainfield, N.J. But in the big cities—Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Newark, N.J.—by any measuring stick you choose, Puerto Ricans are at the bottom of the ladder, have not been significantly improving their situ-

80 Years of Puerto Rican Migration

by Ronnie Lovler

The Puerto Rican migration dates to 1901 when 5,000 Puerto Ricans were recruited to work on the sugar plantations of Hawaii. That was the beginning of the Puerto Rican diaspora, which peaked between 1945 and 1965 when 600,000 Puerto Ricans left their Caribbean homeland in search of economic opportunity on the United States mainland.

Today, more than two million Puerto Ricans live in the continental United States and Hawaii, scattered in some 60 communities with Puerto Rican populations of more than 10,000 persons. The extent and breadth of the Puerto Rican migration has provoked concern that the historic assimilation process that has paralleled minority entry into the U.S. economic and political mainstream could ultimately lead to a loss of Puerto Rican cultural and ethnic identity. For example, many of the children of the diaspora, second and third generation Puerto Ricans living in the 50 states, are not fluent in Spanish and have little awareness of Puerto Rican traditions.

The desire to keep the collective Puerto Rican identity alive is what motivated Boricua College, a bilingual, bicultural institution, and project director Frank Espada to create the Puerto Rican Diaspora Documentary Project. The project, originally funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, will document in words, images and artifacts the U.S. Puerto Rican community.

Espada, a Puerto Rican photographer, has spent much of his professional career recording moments in the lives of Puerto Ricans living in this nation's barrios. And, he says, his camera has helped him to see more clearly than ever before the daily agonies and triumphs of Puerto Ricans struggling to hold on to their heritage.

"This project was conceived first and foremost as a way of preserving culture," he said. "We saw the dilution and the assimilation of Puerto Ricans and we wanted to reinforce the unique values of our culture."

Espada is completing the first phase of the project: the development of 14 photoessays which will become a photo exhibit that will travel to various cities, portions of which will be published later in book form. Espada himself has already traveled around the country, interviewing and photographing Puerto Ricans in their work, school, home, and social environments. Always, the idea is to assemble a graphic portrayal of what Puerto Ricans have given and received wherever they have resettled in the U.S. Each photoessay will explore a specific theme: working and the quest for dignity; the blending of traditions; the cycle of poverty; politics and the political structure; bilingual education; and cultural maintenance.

The project also takes a look at the reverse migration to Puerto Rico and the problems the mainland-born children of native-born Puerto Rican parents have in adapting to life on the island. "They are called 'Americanos' and are often told, 'Yankee go home.' They are, in short, new migrants in their parents' land," says Espada.

In its second phase, which Espada estimates will take until 1985 to complete, the project will search out memorabilia—old photographs, documents and other artifacts—to tell the story of the diaspora. The collection will be housed permanently at Boricua College.

To do his work, Espada has depended upon the assistance of sponsoring organizations in each Puerto Rican community he has visited. These groups, which Espada refers to as 'godfathers' or '*padrinos*,' are helping the project develop support at the local level and form the building blocks for a national network that will link these widely scattered communities together.

"The project is helping to establish our identity as a national community in the United States," Espada says. And this, he hopes, will lead to formation of a national organization devoted to the preservation of that cultural identity.



ation, and have few prospects of alleviating it during the coming years. Though the Puerto Rican Forum brought a glimmer of hope in July, when it announced that preliminary 1980 census reports indicated that Puerto Rican income had for the first time in 21 years improved vis-a-vis whites to 50 percent of the national average, that figure nonetheless pales when compared to the 75 percent of white income Puerto Ricans enjoyed in 1959. Bustelo added in a gloomy note that the economic gain made in 1979 might be "complicated by a potential migration of island Puerto Ricans to the mainland resulting from the proposed Federal budget cuts."

In times of economic cost-cutting, equal rights and affirmative action programs intended to rectify past injustices often become costly "luxuries." Since the original Lau decision, for instance, Hispanic and other non-English speaking minorities have regarded bilingual education as a court-approved right—the only means many of their children had to keep pace with other American children in the public

schools. But bilingual education has become a rallying cry that instantly musters troops on both sides. Though a groundswell of public pressure kept bilingual education monies in a categorical grant in the Department of Education's FY 1981 budget, the 10 percent slash in FY 1982 funds and the projected 50 percent cut for the next fiscal year is viewed by Juan Ramos, president of Philadelphia's 1,000-member Puerto Rican Alliance as a "blatant disregard of a right the courts have already recognized."

At the state level, where most bilingual funding originates, a growing assault on the supposed "right" is mounting. Though some states mandate it by law, in Massachusetts and New Jersey, which do, attempts are underway in the legislatures to repeal the law or severely curtail it. In New York City, whose state has no bilingual law, severe cutbacks have been announced in the program for this year. Dr. Evelina Antonetty, for 17 years executive director of the United Bronx Parents, immediately began forming a coalition, *Comite Bilingüe*,

to fight the cuts.

"Our kids still can't read, can't get jobs, we're stagnated," says Antonetty. "We're going to have to go back to the 1960's methods to bring this thing to light."

When Philadelphia school superintendent Michael Marcuse announced the planned layoff of 3,000 teachers from the city's nearly bankrupt system in July, he included half of all the city's bilingual teachers. More than 300 enraged parents and teachers descended on City Hall. Since Pennsylvania state regulations mandate bilingual education, a coalition of nearly every Hispanic organization in the city chose the legal route. They are seeking an injunction against the layoffs and the city's de facto dismantling of the program.

But Louis Nuñez, director of the National Puerto Rican Coalition in Washington, D.C., believes increasing segregation in the public schools may be as great a danger as eliminating bilingual education.

"When I was a youngster in East Harlem," says the 49-year-old Nuñez,



New York, N.Y.

"I attended a school, P.S. 57, with the highest percentage of Puerto Ricans in the city, about 30 percent. Now, there are 100 schools in New York that are over 90 percent Hispanic. In that sense, it's gotten worse, because Hispanic children in segregated schools get the short end of the stick—less money and poorly trained teachers."

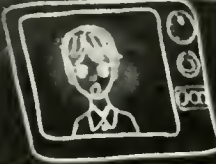
If education has sounded the call to arms, housing has become the frontlines. Though Puerto Ricans live in every state in the union, including an estimated 5,000 in Hawaii (where retired educator and librarian Blaise Sousa has organized the Puerto Rican Heritage Society of Hawaii), more than 60 percent of mainland *boricuas* live within a 200-mile radius of New York City. That means, as Nuñez points out, that "the core of the Puerto Rican community is located precisely in one of the most economically depressed, declining areas of our country."

Even the potential electoral power (still largely untapped since in most

Write today's sentence in worksheet.
Do notebook.
Wed-Thurs-Fri only
Read a book
Try the center
Write the day of week.
Play a game.

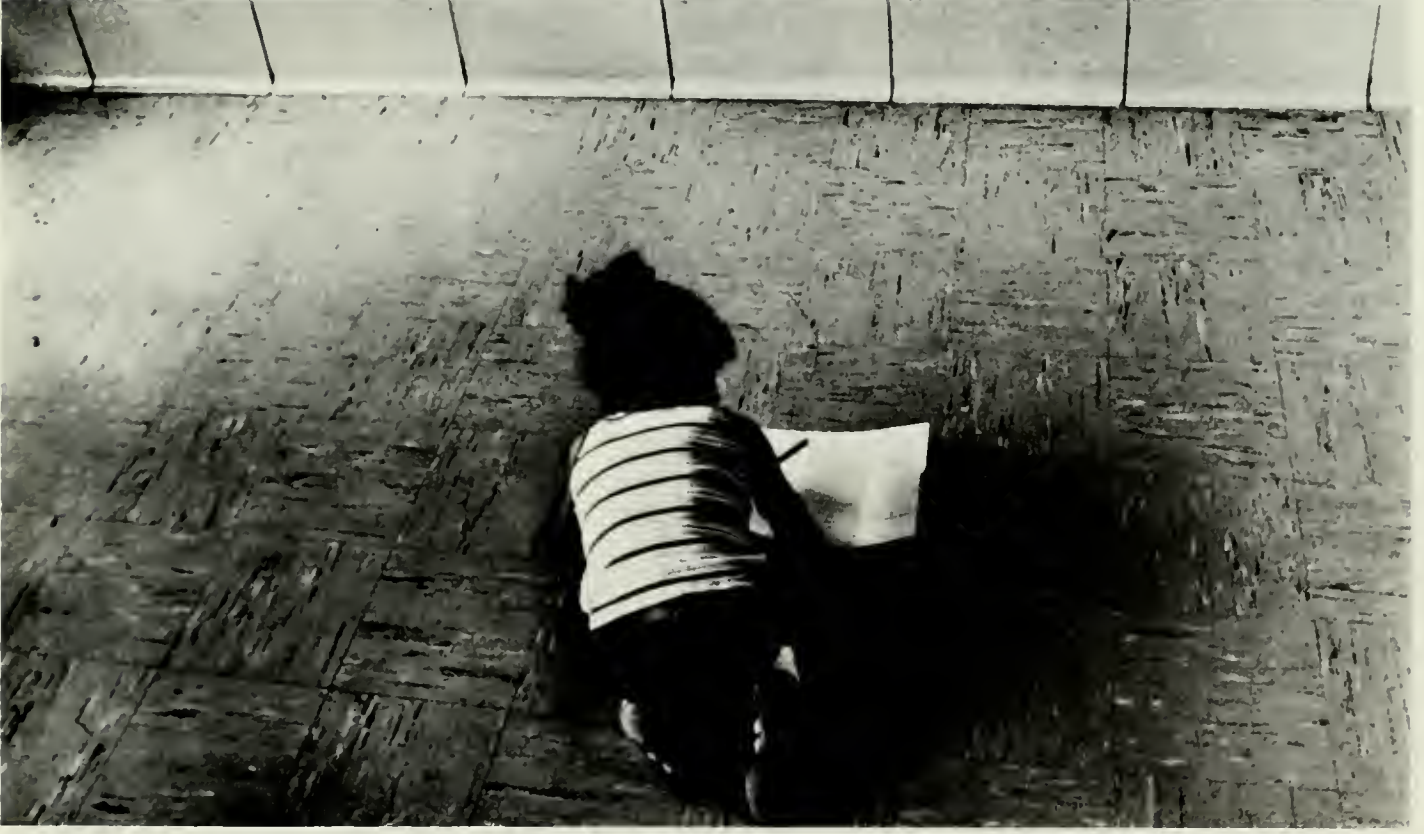
Thursday
June 4, 1981

Name _____
Yesterday I was on television.



juice	love	leaf
key	keep	kite
look	kiss	jelly
jam	July	lion

one	two	three	four	five	six	seven	eight	nine	ten





cities less than half of voting age Puerto Ricans are even registered) is being decimated by gentrification and by deconcentration policies of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The country's only Puerto Rican Congressman, Bob Garcia, saw his largely South Bronx congressional district experience one of the greatest drops in population in the nation during the 1970s, making it a prime candidate to be reapportioned out of existence. By contrast, the town of Lorraine, Ohio, where U.S. Steel recruited

500 Puerto Ricans from the island to work in its vast mill in 1945, has regularly sent two Puerto Ricans to the city council since 1960.

In Newark, N.J., Ramón Rivera, past president of the New Jersey Hispanic Directors Association, finds housing displacement as one of the most subtle ways to discriminate against Puerto Ricans. His Casa Don Pedro agency is waging a campaign against St. Lucy's Roman Catholic Church, and the Villa Victoria Development Corporation, which is sponsoring a series of publicly

funded housing units in the Puerto Rican community of Lower Broadway in Newark's North Ward.

Though most of St. Lucy's white parishioners, in what was once an Italian neighborhood but has now "changed over," no longer live in the area, church members hold seven of the nine Villa Victoria board positions. According to Rivera, no community meetings were ever held to elect the board or inform the community as to how residents for the 200 new units in phase one of the project will be chosen.

Rivera wants a change in the composition of the board to reflect the community, a lottery or first-come first-served method of allocating units, observance of Federal requirements for minority set-asides, guarantees of priority to the Puerto Ricans and blacks displaced during construction and regular community accountability. Monsignor Gramato, director of St. Lucy's Villa Victoria Project refuses to hear the pleas.

The cry of housing discrimination and systematic displacement repeats itself in every town, large or small, where Puerto Ricans and other minorities find themselves. In Brooklyn, New York, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund won a landmark decision last year in *Williamsburg Fair Housing Committee vs New York City Housing Authority*. The plaintiffs charged in a Federal suit that racial housing quotas aimed at limiting the number of non-white residents existed in four new housing developments totalling 2,000 units. They demonstrated in court how floor plans in the Bedford Garden Homes had a racial and ethnic code listed for each apartment and how whites in the rental office regulated rentals to Puerto Ricans. In 1980, the court found that discrimination did exist, and all parties agreed to a consent decree.

Even the sleepy upstate village of Lyons, New York, has not been spared severe strife and a civil rights housing suit, as well as a controversial arson trial over the displacement of Puerto Ricans. In 1977-78, 250 low-income residents, mostly Puerto Ricans, were forced to leave their homes in the decaying Water and Broad St. areas, as village mayor James Fabino sought to clean-up and restore the village's historic downtown. The families formed a Committee to Save Water Street and initiated a series of peaceful protests, unheard of in the small community, finally filing a \$4 million civil rights suit in Federal District Court in Rochester. Though the suit was dismissed by U.S. District Judge Harold P. Burke in 1978, it was reinstated in April, 1979 by the Second Circuit of the U.S. Court of Appeals and has yet to come to trial.

Meanwhile, a series of arson fires at

An Indoafroeupean Response to Racism

by Angela Jorge

Racism is not alien to the history of Puerto Rico. It is a form of racism, however, that is far less intractable than the kind still found here on the mainland. Perhaps this is due to the absence of a Civil War and of Jim Crow laws, then again it may be more traceable to the commingling, beginning in the 16th century, of Indians, Africans and Europeans on a Caribbean island that measures one hundred miles long by thirty-five miles wide.

Whatever has helped to mold racial attitudes among Puerto Ricans, it has allowed for the creation of a people who have integrated into their psyche, as well as into their physical being, three races of human kind. Puerto Ricans long ago learned to accept differences in skin color with the same ease that they accept the vibrancy and varieties of color which add such beauty to their tropical landscape.

Old sayings often reveal crucial truths about a culture. And two Puerto Rican adages in particular, although resistant to literal translations, encapsulate volumes about Puerto Rican responses to their own racial experience.

One of these, "*El que no tiene de dinga tiene de mandinga*," reminds Puerto Ricans that those who do not have Indian ancestry surely have African ancestry. It recognizes that racial mixing on such a tiny island, which in 1530 had 369 whites, 1148 Indians, and 1523 Africans, was unavoidable. This adage doesn't suggest that a Puerto Rican who is lighter or darker is better or worse than another. On the contrary, one has only to visit the smaller hamlets in Puerto Rico where traditional island customs are unconsciously nurtured to see the easy commingling of people who consider themselves Puerto Rican, rather than white or black or any shade in between.

But a second adage, "*Adelantar la raza*," captures the imperative some Puerto Ricans have felt to erase traces of Indian or African ancestry from their family lines by seeking out marriage partners who are lighter skinned. What is significant is not that this phenomenon exists in Puerto Rico, but that it barely does. Indeed, those who openly embrace such views do so at great risk to their good name and invite private disfavor and public condemnation.

The Puerto Rican living in the continental United States, however, faces extraordinary pressures to accept the implication of the second adage that "white is better." Behind a backdrop of decaying tenements, joblessness and a thousand barrio indignities which fall harder on the darker-skinned, there is an unspoken demand by the larger society that Puerto Ricans "be" either white or black. It's no wonder that some Puerto Ricans succumb to such pressures and deny their 400 year experience in racial commingling.

But acceptance of racial attitudes or values prevalent in the United States thrusts Puerto Ricans into an emotionally debilitating civil war. To say "I am Puerto Rican" means more than just I or my parents come from Puerto Rico. It also means that I am all that my multi-hued ancestors and contemporaries have lived and hoped for. To say that "I am a white Puerto Rican," reveals, at best, a lack of historical and cultural sensibility and, at worst, a desire to obliterate the past in an effort to succeed in a white-dominant society.

Most mainland Puerto Ricans are preserving their tradition of commingling, of racial acceptance in a nation whose greatness is diminished by its unresolved race problems. By proudly proclaiming that they may be the vanguard of a new race, an "Indoafroeupean" people, many Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics realize they may be viewed as heretics. If it be heresy, it may also be the salvation of the Puerto Rican on the United States mainland—and of the United States itself.

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the vacated buildings led to the arrest of Abraham Rodriguez, 45-year-old leader of the residents committee. The first conviction of Rodriguez, a \$214-a-week maintenance worker who began toiling in the fields of Lyons in 1951 when he arrived from Puerto Rico, was overturned, but he was convicted again at a second trial in 1980 and sentenced to 6 to 18 years at Attica Prison.

Rodriguez and his defense committee still claim he was framed to silence his leadership. He refused a plea bargain at the second trial that would have led to a lighter sentence. But whether or not he is guilty of arson, there seems little doubt that more than 45 families evicted from their homes suffered a fate well-known in the big city. As one Puerto Rican leader says, "Urban renewal usually means black and Hispanic removal."

The small towns and the big city, though, do not monopolize present-day civil rights violations. In the beautiful, lush countryside of Vineland, New Jersey, center of the state's second-largest industry after casino gambling—agriculture—nearly 15,000 Puerto Rican migrant laborers continue to ply their back-breaking trade as contract workers recruited directly from the island. While they are here, they have few recognized rights. Few Federal labor laws cover farm laborers and farmers are not required to bargain collectively with them. The results are minimum wages and often inhuman barrack-housing conditions for the largely non-English speaking workers.

The Farmworkers Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union won its biggest victory last July when the owner of Sunny Slope Farms in nearby Bridgeton was ordered by a state court to reinstate 14 Puerto Rican laborers he fired because they joined CATA (Comité en Apoyo de Trabajadores Agrícolas) a committee to unionize the farmworkers. State law guarantees *all* workers the right to free association, though enforcing it is another matter. CATA leaders claim many workers are forced to labor seven days a week, often held in virtual semi-slavery, unable to leave the camps, especially if they can't speak English.



Despite a handful of recent court victories, though, many Puerto Rican leaders consider the criminal justice system to be part of the problem. On a steamy July night in Cleveland, Ohio, this summer, more than 300 angry Puerto Ricans gathered at the Spanish American Committee Hall. They came to the largest community meeting most could recall to launch a campaign for a new trial for young Orlando Morales, who had been convicted earlier in the month of the murder, kidnapping and rape of an 11-year-old white girl. Though Morales passed a lie detector test, and though samples of the attacker's pubic hairs found on the body of the dead girl did not match those of the accused, the 22-year-old man was convicted by a jury of ten whites and two blacks and sentenced to two life terms and two terms of 25-years-to-life. The state's principal witness, prison inmate William A. Leach, testified that Morales confessed the murder to him while in jail awaiting trial. But soon after the trial, Morales' defense lawyer announced that Leach had admitted to lying while on the witness stand in return for an offer of an early release from jail.

"Even reporters who covered the trial told me, 'That boy was railroaded, you should do something,'" said Luis Vega, chairman of the Spanish American Committee.

Change the town, change the names, the story remains the same. Only as you go out further west, does the intensity of the discrimination seem to ease a little. "Puerto Ricans are the lowest on the ladder," says Isidro Calderon, new chairman of the Western Regional Puerto Rican Council, from his office in Oakland. "But here we're not treated much different from any other minority."

Back east, though, the mood is different. In early August of last year, Connecticut's Bridgeport *Post* reported the imminent indictment by a Federal grand jury of three policemen accused of the 1977 killing of Puerto Rican Tito Fernandez. Two days later, a key witness in the case was shot to death gangland-style. And some Puerto Rican leaders, joined by the NAACP, issued a list of ten years of unresolved police

brutality cases.

Meanwhile, in New Haven, Connecticut, a discouraged Dr. Tirsia Quiñones details one way in which Puerto Ricans, especially women, have been given special attention—sterilization. A group with which Dr. Quiñones works, MULANEH (Mujeres Latinoamericanas de New Haven) surveyed 101 latina women in the Puerto Rican Hill area of New Haven in 1979. They found that 44 percent of these women had been sterilized, much higher than the general population. In Hartford, she says, a similar study revealed almost identical results. But the six-year old MULANEH center which dealt with violence in the home, sex education, and family planning, closed its doors last spring, the victim of funding cuts.

A rebel-reformer alliance could pull the 1.8 million mainland Puerto Ricans into action.

While Chicanos in the West and Southwest and blacks in the northern inner cities and throughout the South made an impact on Federal and corporate policies during the 1970s, no such progress has happened for Puerto Ricans. Though increasing numbers of Chicano and black leaders have been elected to local and state governments, thus creating a public platform for the needs of their constituents, Puerto Ricans have lagged in the electoral arena.

But a growing awareness among second generation Puerto Ricans—those in their late 20s and 30s, most of whom have reached the conclusion that they will not return to Puerto Rico and that therefore they must tackle the conditions suffocating Puerto Rican progress here—is creating a new revolution of expectations.

In the past two years, grass roots Puerto Rican community organizations have begun joining with student and professional leaders as well as established national Puerto Rican organizations—the Puerto Rican Forum, the National Puerto Rican Coalition, the

National Conference of Puerto Rican Women, ASPIRA—in a new coalition for Puerto Rican survival. Recent national conferences by the National Puerto Rican Coalition and the founding of a new civil rights organization, the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, have highlighted those efforts in 1981. Past divisiveness among organizations and leaders is giving way to the realization, as one leader said recently, "that none of us have been doing well in dealing with the problems, so we all need to try something new—unity and tolerance of each other's differences."

The rebellious 1960s nurtured a whole generation of militant and social activist Puerto Ricans, many of whom spurned the traditional ways of working within the system to effect change. At the same time, the established leaders rejected the protest politics of the activists. The result was political weakness on the part of both, neglect and lack of respect by the powers that be.

The 1980s point toward a new alliance between the rebels and the reformers, an alliance born out of the necessity to survive and out of a realization that past divisions have only succeeded in disillusioning the Puerto Rican masses from any type of political involvement. The hope of many is that the new unity will act like a gravitational force, pulling the 1.8 million Puerto Ricans into action.

As for the still unresolved philosophical and political differences between the generations, the new unity movement is already bridging them while forging alliances for equality. Puerto Ricans throughout this country are reminding each other that no matter how well-to-do they are or how well they speak English, in this country, as Martin Perez, president of New Jersey's Puerto Rican Congress, says, "We're all Puerto Ricans and we're all suffering just for that, so let's eliminate the main problem first. The others we'll deal with later."

The rock of discrimination. The hard place of poverty.

Still caught between the two, Puerto Ricans remain frustrated. And, in spite of their leaders' hopes for unity, the people are growing impatient. ♦

From Bylines to Bottomlines

Hispanics Meet the Press

by Charles Ericksen



Hispanic criticism of America's daily papers is nothing new. It's just something that the establishment press has chosen not to cover. But America's narrowing band of newspaper owners and publishers are beginning to take more than passing notice of the country's 20 million Hispanics. Signs are everywhere.

- A few more Hispanic bylines and some more sensitive coverage are in evidence these days, particularly among California and other Southwestern papers. As an example, the San Diego *Union* has increased its coverage of the Hispanic world both north and south of the Mexican border, uses Spanish as well as English type styles, and is hiring and utilizing Hispanic journalists not only to tell most of the Hispanic story, but to cover all the news.

- Other major newspapers, including the Chicago *Sun Times*, the Denver *Post*, the San Antonio *Express-News*, the

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Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner*, the Dallas *Morning News*, and the *Arizona Republic*, are trying out special Hispanic series, Spanish-language pages, weekly Hispanic-oriented supplements, and regular columnists of Hispanic heritage.

- The Gannett newspaper chain of 82 papers studied the opinions and interests of its Hispanic readership (and potential readership) in seven Southwestern cities. Gannett also invested \$9 million in New York's Spanish language daily, *El Diario-La Prensa*, and is in the process of making it a newspaper which could at long last reflect the interests and concerns of the large Puerto Rican, Dominican and other Hispanic communities of that metropolitan area. Manuel Bustelo was named its publisher. And Gerald Garcia was named publisher of the Tucson *Daily Citizen*, another Gan-

Editor's Note: This first of two articles about Hispanics in the news media deals with coverage of Hispanics by the press. The second article will appear in the Spring 1982 issue of Perspectives, and will focus on employment of Hispanics in the media.

nett newspaper.

- The Miami *Herald's* 5-year-old Spanish language offshoot, *El Miami Herald*, is increasing in circulation (now at more than 60,000 daily) and prestige, both at home and in Latin America.

- The Los Angeles *Times* is contemplating an expensive leap into the competition for the lucrative and growing Hispanic market, although it is looking for the key to the barrio door with only a dozen Hispanic reporters and editors out of an editorial staff of more than 500.

Yet, there is ample evidence that the influential Washington press corps, devoid of Hispanic correspondents, is generally failing to cover the significance of national events to Hispanics, and, of equal importance, the impact of Hispanics on national events. Worse, it and most of the nation's press usually portrays *Hispanoamericanos* as a collective albatross around our national neck, a force hauling against national progress.

It should come as no news that, with its broad First Amendment protections, the press has awesome power in our society. Reporters, editors and publishers decide what and who makes news. And because they are overwhelmingly white males, these decision makers have, with notable exceptions, led newspapers to present distorted views of minorities and women.

In 1943, in an editorial attacking the behavior of Mexican American youth, the Los Angeles *Herald Express* characterized Mexican Americans as "motivated to deviant behavior by certain biological or racial characteristics." But it took another quarter century and the riots which swept the nation in 1968 for the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders (more commonly known as the Kerner Commission) to harshly criticize the American news media for "failure to communicate" the complex and fundamental problems of race relations in this country.

In his Stanford University Master's project,* Miguel D. Martín notes the Committee's concern about sensationalized

and stereotyped coverage of minorities. "Implicit in the criticisms and recommendations of the Committee was that the press was charged with a measure of 'social responsibility' toward America's minorities," he comments. However, the Committee apparently felt that the premise upon which such a responsibility rested was obvious because there was no explanation of that responsibility. "Today," Martín adds, "there is no apparent consensus as to what measure of social responsibility the news media owe minorities—or that any such responsibility exists." To support that view, he notes that a recent study of Austin, Tex. newspapers found that the newspapers "failed to cover Mexican American activities for fear of alienating Anglo advertisers who might view these activities as anti-status quo and anti-business."

On a national level, the U.S. Hispanic community is certainly not easy to cover. It includes individuals whose ancestors have been here for centuries and others who arrived yesterday. Hispanics trace their origins to more than two dozen countries. Some fled tyranny; others fled revolutions against tyranny. They are white and black and all shades in between.

But there are important commonalities, too. Sociologist Philip G. Vargas points out that Hispanics "also tend to identify themselves as distinct from the majority population because of their common language, the shared cultural elements derived from Spain, the predominant influence of an authoritarian family structure and Catholicism and, more recently, the acceptance of the politicized term 'Hispanics.'"

Nevertheless, Hispanics' inherited and social characteristics and historical outlook are as diverse as those in the population at large. National advertisers have begun to pay careful attention to these regional similarities and differences. So why are Hispanics still seen in stereotype on the news pages?

To deal intelligently with these cultural complexities, someone with more than casual expertise is needed to report on the progress and problems of this nation's second largest and fastest growing minority. Yet, until very recently few Hispanics with that expertise were allowed into newsrooms, let alone behind the editor's or publisher's desk. Daniel Muñoz, editor and publisher of *La Prensa San Diego*,

**The Implications of a Social Responsibility Theory of the Press for Coverage of Ethnic Minority Issues and Communities*, Department of Communications, Stanford University, June 1981.

describes the dilemma equally well for all Hispanics:

The media, which is controlled by the white power structure, has in 200 years imposed a definition of self upon Chicanos which makes them feel inferior, ignorant, and somehow not as good as the white man.

The press-perception problems which Hispanic Americans are confronted with are in many ways similar to those which black Americans endured before their civil rights advances of the '60s. This is not to imply that blacks' troubles with the media are anywhere near being resolved; but blacks do have some things going for them today that Hispanics do not. Now, nationally recognized black journalists such as William Raspberry and Carl Rowan are allowed to speak as "authorities" in widely syndicated columns—and not just on black-related matters. They are joined on the op-ed pages regularly by such spokespersons as Jesse Jackson and Andrew Young. Moreover, several strong, solvent, black-controlled periodicals now appear on newstands alongside *Newsweek* and *Time*.

However there are no nationally-syndicated Hispanic political columnists or financially solid Hispanic-owned periodicals. They aren't present to set the record straight privately and in public on those occasions when a major newspaper's distortion of the truth increases tensions in Hispanic communities.

When Hispanics are invisible or inaccurately portrayed by the Washington media, all *hispanoamericanos* suffer.

On July 12, 1981, in its bold Page 1 headline, the Los Angeles *Times* warned its 1,289,314 Sunday readers: MARAUDERS FROM INNER CITY PREY ON L.A.'s SUBURBS. The article, which included a *Times*' "computer analysis," a lengthy, dated account of black robbers raping a white woman in a bar, and flashy illustrations, began:

One by one in small bands, young men desperate for money are marauding out of the heart of Los Angeles in a growing wave to prey upon the suburban middle and upper classes, sometimes with senseless savagery. In the last 10 years, the ghettos and barrios of the city have increasingly become staging areas for robbers, burglars and thieves who ride the freeways like magic carpets to hit homes and businesses in such areas as Pasadena, Covina, Glendale, Palos Verdes, Long Beach, West Los Angeles, and Beverly Hills.

The words "inner-city criminals," "marauders," and "predators" were sprinkled liberally throughout the article. According to Philip Montez, Western Regional director for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "In no way did the information presented substantiate their conclusions." Blacks protested vigorously to the *Times*. Hispanic reaction

was less strident. "Maybe that's because we've given up on that paper," commented Dr. Fernando Hernandez, Professor of Education at California State University, Los Angeles.

Willie P. Vazquez, director of the District of Columbia Mayor's Office of Latino Affairs, sees a special reason for Latinos to center a campaign for media fairness in Washington, D.C. "When Hispanics are invisible or inaccurately portrayed by the print and electronic media from which the President, our congressional representatives, lobbyists, power-brokers, foreign diplomats, and bureaucrats get their news, all *hispanoamericanos* suffer," he says. Vazquez' concern was underscored in a recent *Newsweek* story on the workings of the Washington press corps. According to that article, once the Washington *Post* or the New York *Times* puts a particular story on Page 1, the rest of the Washington press pack feels obligated to pursue it "whether they agree or not." Clearly, sins of commission or omission by the "superdailies" will continue to spell bad news for Hispanics until the messengers change.

Felix Gutierrez, head of Mass Communications at the University of Southern California's School of Journalism, notes that now that Hispanics are becoming more "news-worthy," more non-Hispanic media-messengers are grabbing "the taco beat," as it's sometimes derogatorily called. He points out in an article in *Agenda* magazine (May/June 1981) that although Hispanic reporters have been covering the human side of the immigration story extremely well for more than a decade, it was a New York *Times* non-Hispanic reporter, John M. Crewdson, who was awarded a Pulitzer Prize this year for his stories on undocumented immigration.

Often overlooked by editors of such copy, however, are expressions of bias against Hispanics. In a news analysis that appeared in his newspaper last June, Crewdson wrote:

"The Reagan Administration has taken a critical and long-awaited first step toward resolving a problem that, after decades of inattention, is fast assuming the proportions of a national crisis. "The problem may be stated briefly: To what extent is the United States prepared to permit or at least to tolerate the continued immigration of impoverished and oppressed refugees and aliens, legal and illegal, *and with them the enhanced potential for social conflict inherent in a permanently multilingual, multicultural society?...*" (Author's emphasis)

The contributions of immigrants to the U.S. are rejected. The expressed fear seems to be a pluralistic society. This is hardly an isolated example. Topping another New York *Times* Service article which stated, on Aug. 8, 1977, that "a horde of destitute migrants from the Mexican interior" was massing at the border, the Los Angeles *Herald Examiner* bannered, "STATE THREATENED BY ALIEN HORDE."

And so it goes. The "danger" Hispanics pose to America's cultural identity is picked up and played with renewed and widespread enthusiasm. Unfortunately, such bias even creeps into the writing of some of our most respected authors. A case in point is a December 1980 Washington *Post*

"Outlook" section piece by James Michener on "Why I'm Still A Liberal." In it, he recommends that Puerto Rico should "be given its independence immediately, whether it knows what it wants or not. For the United States to hang on to an unnatural relationship, and one which can only deteriorate, is folly." So much for self-determination.

In its coverage, the establishment media seem to reflect a developing national fear that America's skin is turning off-color. Headlines such as '*Asian-Hispanic Tide May Sweep America in 100 Years*'—*Expert* (San Antonio News, Sept. 23, 1981) are more and more commonplace. The headline was over an Associated Press story which began: "New immigrants, mostly Asian and Hispanic, could become the majority in some states, nearly rule in others like Texas, and constitute nearly 40 percent of the U.S. population within a century." So much for accuracy in headlines.

A 1980 Aspen Institute conference delving into coverage of the U.S. Hispanic community encapsulates the problem neatly:

The English-language news media, in their choice of presentation of stories about Latinos, still tend...to report only the problem or sensational aspects: illegal immigration, poverty, gangs and violence. Even when such stories are accurate in themselves, they add up to a persistent impression of a "problem people," an impression that leaves out the contributions and advances made by Latinos in the U.S. and so makes harder their full acceptance and participation as fellow citizens.

Survival for economically pressed newspapers may depend on their ability to communicate to a Hispanic readership.

As American newspapers start awakening to the reality that their economic survival in many communities may depend on their ability to communicate to an Hispanic readership, they are taking tentative steps. They are sending volunteers into what was viewed in the past as the "combat zone." Some Anglo journalists are growing from the experience. Others go in with preconceived stereotypes and look for facts to support them.

One of the best newspaper series on Hispanics that was written by a non-Hispanic was done by Santa Ana *Register* staff writer Orman Day last July. The series dealt with religion, art, diet, tradition, family, business successes, even folk medicine. Its only real flaw wasn't the fault of the author. Illustrating a companion article by fellow staffer Dean Forbes on young Chicanos customizing and decorating their bicycles—spending as much as \$1,000 on them—were two beautiful color photographs of the bikes and their youthful owners. On the same page was a picture of a little blonde girl eating cotton candy on opening day of the Orange County Fair. She was identified in a caption by name, age, and city of residence. The two Chicanos were just any-

mous "teenagers" in the caption under their pictures...just two Mexicans.

Hispanics are especially confounded by non-Hispanic reporters' insistence on saddling the noun "barrio" with negative descriptions. Houston's barrios, for example, were described in a series one of its papers ran some months ago as places where "shoppers haggle and Latin rhythms blare." And a Chicago reporter recently described New York's Spanish Harlem as "grim, rat-infested."

Reporters write what they know about, what they feel and sense. Every story has a cultural "slant," whether the reporter who writes it is aware of it or not. The Washington, D.C. press had a field day with Roberto Duran in covering his two fights with D.C. native Sugar Ray Leonard. Washington *Star* sports columnist Morris Siegel did a piece depicting Duran and the whole country of Panama by using words like "pistol-packing generalissimo," "enforcer" and "bag man" throughout. Then he wrote: "Duran is eager to tango with Leonard again." An incensed Chicano reader wrote the editor: "Would Siegel write: 'Leonard is eager to tap dance with Duran again?'"

Some stereotypes die hard. But perhaps worse is the fashioning of new stereotypes by uninformed journalists who have "discovered" the Hispanic presence. In its March '80 cover story, "Roots: The Mexican Version," *Texas Monthly* followed three generations of a barrio family, found them to be nice people, but found the barrio itself to be a veritable hellhole, inhabited with "hard characters . . . whose arms wore bracelets of scars and wounds from years of hatred and anger. . . ." It went on to describe the rampant cultural conflict, which it saw as "the darker side to this American coin: the broken barrio families, the growing number of juvenile delinquents and forgotten old people left like abandoned cars on the street to fall apart. . . ." Impressionistic at best, the appearance of such writing in an award-winning magazine contributes to a cheapening of some of the very things Mexican Americans value most: tenacity, respect, dignity, children, family, the elderly.

At a conference of Hispanic local government officials which attracted more than 700 Hispanic leaders to San Antonio last September, Los Angeles *Times* editorial writer Frank del Olmo said: "The bottom line is that reporters are like everybody else. Some are bigoted. Some are not very bright. I have seen racism within my own newspaper many times, and it hurts me." Del Olmo's advice to the group: Learn how to manipulate the media. Politicians, social leaders, business persons, and professional associations make it a point to know the people who are responsible for what gets into the paper. And they take extra steps to insure that their organizations, programs, and goals are presented in as accurate and balanced a way possible.

Felix Gutierrez' reaction to the accepted wisdom that the media serve a "watchdog" role in our society is also worth remembering: "A watchdog only responds to the wishes of his owner." If real media reform is to occur, he says, Hispanics must organize themselves to deal with those who control the press.

He needn't have worried. Hispanics are doing just that. ♦

by Patrick McCaffrey

The Gentry Are Coming!

Artis

In Baltimore a few years ago, a young couple from the high rent district of Roland Park bought a run-down house in a poor neighborhood in East Baltimore for \$3,000. With a lot of time and effort and about \$20,000, they made it a showplace featured in "Living" sections of the local press. Today it could command over \$50,000.

More recently in Washington, a group of seven apartment buildings in the Adams-Morgan section were closed for renovation and converted to condominiums. When they reopen, the 30 to 40 apartment units (for which poor, mostly black and Hispanic tenants had paid about \$150 a month) will sell for \$100,000 each.

The Baltimore couple and new condo owners are among thousands of the affluent flocking back to America's previously written-off cities. Either they or developers ahead of them are "gentrifying" once dilapidated areas and being heralded as pioneers of the new urban resurgence. Usually, they restore run-down but structurally sound and sometimes architecturally striking neighborhoods to former elegance.

In the process, gentrification or return of the middle class drives up property values, taxes and rents and forces out ("displacement" is the new euphemism) the aged and minority poor.

An elderly black couple in another Baltimore gentrified area, for instance, was displaced after 13 years in a row house. Their previous rent of \$80 per month was more than doubling. "People live where they want if they can afford it," they said, surprisingly without bitterness. "We just can't afford these houses anymore. But where will we go?"

The displaced may go to less desirable but more expensive slum neighborhoods, to sharing with relatives or, if they've been on the waiting list for years, to almost nonexistent public housing. In Los Angeles, where vacancy rates in black and Hispanic ghettos is .5 percent, people are literally living in cars and paying \$30 a month for bathroom privileges in nearby houses.

Gentrification is caused, says former secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Patricia Harris, by the high cost of suburban housing contrasted with the depressed prices in inner cities, and the increasing costs of gasoline and automobiles essential in suburbs. "The bottom line is money," said Arnold Clark, a former housing administrator in New York, referring to recent gentrification in Harlem. "Those who have the money will get what they want." Ken Jacuues, executive director for Washington's Adams-Morgan Organization, had a similar

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comment about his losing battle on behalf of tenants against gentrifiers.

"The economics are too great," he said. "We just can't win."

Many officials in cities like New York argue that the exodus of the 1950's and 1960's left them in a financial crisis. Aware that the gasoline and housing crunches are working in their favor, they are aggressively promoting their images and offering incentives to bring back affluent taxpayers. "Let's put it this way," says Baltimore Mayor William Donald Schaefer. "The tax base is being increased. Assessments are going up. We have more resources to take care of inflation and people."

Yet many people aren't being taken care of. Such reinvestment inevitably causes displacement with its attending financial and human costs. Some cities say they are providing alternatives; other just avert their eyes. "The denial of affordable shelter," said a 1979 HUD report, "to households which have the least amount of financial bargaining power is a sensitive issue to a nation that, as a matter of public policy, has adopted a goal of providing decent housing for all its citizens." A Washington city official put it more simply: "Displacement is the burning issue of the '80's."

Gentrification isn't new except as a term. Urban renewal preceded it, removing whole neighborhoods and crowding their populations into others. And select gentrification goes back to the '50's, under the name of historic restoration. Displacement isn't new either. But before there were always other comparably priced areas to migrate to, even if they were comparably decayed and overcrowded.

What's new are the economic factors. HUD estimates the national housing vacancy rate at 4.7 percent—the lowest in history—and 2 percent or less in urban areas. The average cost of a one-family home has skyrocketed from \$23,000 in 1970 to \$80,000 in 1980. Only 15 percent of the population can afford median-priced new housing. Thus the competition for older, cheaper housing.

Until 1978 HUD said displacement was a "relatively insignificant problem" and "may be exaggerated" due to



local anger and panic. Then, perhaps looking at its own vacancy figures and finding contradictions from such cities as Seattle, where 20 percent of those who moved were "involuntarily displaced" (five times HUD's national estimate), HUD changed its mind. It has now decided that its information is incomplete and has launched a \$1 million study of the problem.

The basic displacement problem, according to most experts, is the failure of the housing industry to build sufficient low and moderate income homes, private and public, especially the latter. Only three percent of the total housing market is public housing. This results in waiting lists for such housing stretching to 53,000 in Chicago and 35,000 in Baltimore, with the average wait as long as five to 10 years.

"There is no such thing as displacement," says Richard Goodman, a Baltimore real estate agent who has been active in one of the city's most gentrified neighborhoods. "Displacement is a political football." But Vincent Quayle, director of Baltimore's St. Ambrose Housing Aid Center, a tenant counseling and rehabilitation group, says about 100 families were forced out of a neighborhood near Johns Hopkins University by speculation and gentrification. "We tracked down about 50 of these families," he said, "and found that about half found similar housing. The others either went to poorer areas where they paid more for worse housing or were forced into living with relatives." Goodman, however, contends that conditions in the rental housing were "so horrible" they should have been condemned. "You do these people a favor by getting them out of there," he said. "Wherever they go is better than what they left."

Whether they necessarily go to better housing is questionable. In *The Progressive*, Barbara Koepfel described one family's new house:

"In the heart of East Baltimore's black ghetto, the brick is crumbling...the wooden trim is rotten, the steps sag. On the top floor, two rooms lie buried knee-deep in the rubble of a roof that collapsed six months earlier. The ground floor is dank and without heat. Two small

rooms on the middle floor are the only usable space for the fifty-three-year-old tenant, her unemployed brother and her eighty-six-year-old grandfather, who stares vacantly from his wheelchair. But these rooms are hardly livable; in winter, wind sweeps through the loose windows and the only heat drifts from the open oven. "'It's so cold downstairs that some water in a glass froze,' the woman says. 'I cried to the landlady on the phone and asked her to make it warm and move the debris. But she only laughed and

said the litter would keep in the heat...I've given up,' she says softly. 'I don't cry anymore.'"

Rolf Goetze, in his book, *Neighborhood Dynamics*, says a community goes through three waves of residents in the gentrification process. First come a few "pioneers" (about 10 percent) who really like the neighborhood for its diversity and housing potential. Then come another 20 percent, the "trend-setters," who can accept diversity as long as they're confident others will follow. The rest are the "mainstream-

The Georgetowning of Baltimore

Baltimore is a good example of ongoing gentrification, how it works and problems it presents like displacement. It has experienced a recent wave of speculation, just as Washington's more desirable areas were "Georgetowned" out (as it's called there), and speculators launched the great Baltimore land rush. Speculation is an intricate part of gentrification, feeding upon it and hiding behind its gentle image.

There is still property available in Baltimore at relatively low prices, including empty or abandoned houses. Such houses have been used by the city for the most extensive homesteading and rehabilitation programs in the nation. Since the early '70s, Baltimore has sold off almost 1,000 abandoned shells to homesteaders, twice as many as any other city. Homesteaders purchase the properties for anything from \$1 to \$4,000 with the provision that they rehabilitate them and put them back on the tax rolls. Low-interest city loans help homesteaders pay rebuilding costs.

The city itself has renovated over 3,000 sub-standard houses and sold them for around \$15,000 each, a reasonable price that attracts middle-class pioneers and ups the rent and the tax base. The city also encourages rebuilding of old neighborhoods, sponsoring projects like a sound barrier to shut off traffic noise from an expressway and a gazebo rescued from a park junk pile and set in a mall near downtown houses.

These approaches and multi-million dollar renewal projects like the Inner Harbor development have earned Baltimore a reputation as the best example of urban renewal in the nation. Still, critics say it comes at a devastating social price—displacement and resulting loss of inner-city ethnic flavor, also a Baltimore reputation.

"To make all this brouhaha about all these professional and middle class people," says Anne Blumenberg, a lawyer with the St. Ambrose Housing Aid Center, "is a slap in the face of the traditional neighborhoods, people who are not flashy, people who are not professional—but people who have been here since 1902."

Conrad Weiler, an urban expert at Temple University who lives in such a downtown neighborhood in Philadelphia, is more scornful. "The pioneers," he says, "have a swaggering arrogance...as if making a discovery of something everyone who lived there knew all their lives."

Many critics like Weiler are angry because "red-lining" kept needed investment out of impoverished inner-city neighborhoods when their original residents wanted to upgrade them. Now money for gentrifying those same neighborhoods is available to the middle class. "It's the classic trickle-down theory," says Baltimore's black U.S. representative, Parren Mitchell. "The families who spent their lives among broken bottles and without city services should get low cost loans too."



ers," people without courage and uncomfortable with diversity who come "when the media reflect what the early adopters have already done."

Samuel "Tony" Scrivener III, a Washington real estate dealer, describes it more graphically. "The speculators create the markets," he says. "They're the first-line buyers. They go into the combat zones, buy the properties, and sell them to the dealers. We sell them to the pioneers, the guys with the beards, the dogs and dirty girl

friends and green Volvo station wagons. They take care of the social change, the blacks and whites mix. That lasts until so many of the pioneers get in, it becomes a white block. Then come the young lawyers, the young professionals. It may be a good thing or a bad one because there's an awful lot of displacement.... We all tend to look the other way."

Anne Blumenberg of St. Ambrose, who grew up in one of the old inner-city neighborhoods confirms the proc-

ess from her own experience. She adds that the first-generation young pioneers don't stay long. They gentrify, get their money and get out. "All of them take money out of the neighborhood as opposed to investing in it," she said. "The slum landlords take money out in rents. The speculators and young renovators, who do very little renovating, take money out. Housing has become a commodity in these neighborhoods much more than in wealthier ones."

While pioneers and homesteaders may perform needed renovations and live in the houses they buy, critics see the final results as similar to those created by absentee speculators. "As property values and rents rise," observed Elliot D. Lee of Harlem in *Black Enterprise*, "the poor are forced to leave. Delicatessens replace corner stores, fancy restaurants replace 'greasy spoons,' whites replace people of color. If the intent isn't racist, the effect is."

Conrad Weiler, an urban expert at Philadelphia's Temple University, adds that pioneers "would be merely laughable if [they were] not followed by a wholesale disruption of the neighborhood, the dispersal of the economically and socially vulnerable segments of the population and eventually by the subordination or outright dissolution of the native society by the new one of the post-industrial elite."

With gentrification spreading and the housing shortage intensifying, the question for the displaced remains where to go. Dempsey Travis, a Chicago real estate expert, predicts that inner-city blacks and ethnics eventually will move into suburban housing abandoned by whites returning to the city.

This may seem the final irony. But David Rubenstein, a community activist, suggests the poor should not get too comfortable there, either. "In a few years," he says, "the more provident among the gentry might want those houses back again, because by then the value of even 300-square feet of land to grow a few things and raise a few chickens will be abundantly clear.... By then, the city will be too polluted to raise chickens—or kids." ♦





Police Abuse

The Most Volatile Issue

by Ernie Sotomayor

It is the U.S. Justice Department's Community Relations Service number one priority. Of the ten major civil disturbances in the country in 1980, all but one occurred for the same reason: police abused a citizen. The agency's director, Gilbert Pompa, believes no other issue has the capacity to create such civil disturbance. Pompa calls the issue "an undeclared war between minorities and police, an unnecessary war."

Police abuse toward Hispanics in the United States, particularly in the Southwest, increased dramatically during the 1970s. It peaked in 1976-1977 when, during an 18-month period, 16 Hispanics in Texas alone died while in police custody. For those two years, the Community Relations Service, established to mediate complaints of racial discrimination in communities, made police brutality in Texas its primary assignment.

But the problem is not limited to

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Texas or the Southwest. Half the complaints the agency receives nationwide each year are from people alleging they were abused by police, either physically or verbally. Government officials say reports of severe abuses are declining. Yet, such reports continue to come in, and the two sides are still far apart.

Police abuse toward Hispanics in the Southwest increased dramatically during the 1970's.

"Because of the large number of incidents that occur nationally, a perception has developed in minority communities that minorities are not a part of the administration of justice system," said Pompa, a 14-year veteran of the agency. "This has led to a reluctance on the part of minorities to be included in the general community's efforts in reducing crime.... The reason

this is the most volatile of all issues facing Hispanics is that people will tolerate bad conditions such as housing and education if these conditions are pretty general across the board," Pompa said. "If everyone is hurting, people will accept it and roll with the flow. What they will not tolerate is something that strikes at their dignity...that is, being abused by the police."

Law enforcement officials agree that Hispanics are victims of police abuse. What they won't admit is that Hispanics or other minorities are selectively abused. "There is not any more abuse in the minority community than there is in the majority," said Dick Hickman, president of the Dallas Police Association and former president of the

4,000-member Texas Municipal Police Officers Association. "This is not to say there is no abuse, but it certainly is not selective."

Hickman said minorities overreact to a police officer's use of force. "The police officer can get his butt whipped, but anything short of losing a limb or an eye is not considered abuse to the police officer. But, these people scream bloody murder when they get their noses bloodied by police. And they all have their little notes down: If an officer touches me, I call the Justice Department to complain."

John G. Perez, Dallas regional director for the Community Relations Service, said the problem brewed for years because police agencies in the South-

west did little, until recently, to recruit Hispanics. Instead, they often practiced policies designed to keep minorities out. "They used unreasonable physical requirements, like height requirements, to keep Hispanics out of police departments," Perez said. Police chiefs and sheriffs also set high education standards for recruits, knowing that Hispanics traditionally had lower education levels than Anglos, he said. "You can't fault police professionals for wanting to get recruits with good education, but the standards do serve as a barrier."

Texas police departments, especially those in smaller, rural areas where discrimination against Mexican Americans was the norm, were exclusively



Anglo in the past. And law enforcement agencies throughout Texas are still staffed mostly by Anglos. Not until 1969 did the Texas Rangers, for 100 years the most authoritative police agency in the state, hire its first Hispanic officer. Four of today's 94 officers in the Rangers are "Spanish-speaking." Twelve percent of the 31,815 state, county and municipal police officers in Texas are Hispanics, despite a statewide Hispanic population of more than 21 percent.

The pattern appears to be changing in Southwestern states like Texas, California and Arizona, which have large Hispanic populations. Victims are winning some lawsuit judgements, community groups and national Hispanic organizations have applied pressure on local governments and abusive lawmen have been prosecuted. The Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) in 1978 completed a report listing 60 cases of severe brutality against Hispanics and presented it to the Justice Department urging action against police officials involved. Among those cases were the following:

- Santos Rodriguez, 12, and his brother, David, were arrested July 24, 1973 by Dallas police officer Darrell Cain for questioning about a gasoline station burglary. Cain, playing Russian roulette with the boy, placed his loaded .357-Magnum revolver to Santos' head and pulled the trigger. The weapon fired, killing the boy instantly. Hispanics, for the first time in the city's history, rioted in the streets of downtown Dallas in protest of the shooting, burning police vehicles and tossing bricks through exclusive shops in the business district. Cain was convicted in an Austin state district court of murder and sentenced to five years in prison. The Justice Department declined to involve itself, saying there had been "vigorous state prosecution."

- Jose Campos Torres, 23, a former Army Ranger, was arrested May 5, 1977 after a fight at Houston's Club 21. Houston police officers took Torres to Buffalo Bayou Canal, slapped, beat and kicked him and then took him to jail. But a police sergeant refused to jail him because he was so badly in-

jured, so the officers took him back to Buffalo Bayou.

Officers testified in court that they planned to "scare [Torres] up a little bit," then set him free. One officer testified that policeman Terry Wayne Denson said, "Let's see if the wetback can swim" before Torres was thrown off the 20-foot-high bank into the canal. Torres, wearing army fatigues and combat boots, was found May 8 floating in the bayou.

Cain placed his loaded .357-Magnum revolver to Santos' head and pulled the trigger.

Officers Denson and Stephen Orlando were convicted in state court of negligent homicide—a misdemeanor—and sentenced to a year in prison each. A \$2,000 fine was probated. Denson, Orlando and Officer Joseph Jinish were later convicted in Federal court of conspiracy to "injure," "oppress," and "intimidate," a felony. U.S. District Judge Ross V. Sterling, saying it was a once-in-a-lifetime crime, gave the officers a year in prison each for the misdemeanor charge and 10-year suspended sentences for the felony charge. The Justice Department appealed, arguing the law did not allow Sterling to suspend the sentences of defendants convicted of a crime in which a victim was killed. The 5th U.S. District Court of Appeals in October, 1979, agreed and ordered Sterling to re-sentence the officers. In response, Sterling re-sentenced the officers to a year and a day in prison, the minimum allowed under the law, despite a recommendation by the Justice Department for "substantial prison sentences." The sentences were later reduced by 99 days for good behavior, and the officers were released in September 1980 after serving nine months in prison.

Another officer, Glenn Brinkmeyer, testifying for the prosecution both in the state and Federal trials, pleaded guilty to depriving Torres of his civil rights, and was sentenced to a year's probation. A fifth officer, L.G. Kinney,

pleaded guilty to assaulting Torres, and was sentenced by Sterling to a year in prison.

- In one of the few cases where Federal authorities satisfied the Hispanic community, Marshal Frank Hayes of Castroville, Texas, a rural town near San Antonio, was prosecuted in Federal court for the killing of Ricardo Morales on September 14, 1975. Hayes arrested Morales at his home in connection with a series of burglaries. Hayes drove Morales out of the city on a deserted road, placed a shotgun to the man's side and fired. Hayes, his wife Dorothy and their friend, Alice Baldwin, then took the body from the scene and buried it. A state court convicted Hayes of aggravated assault in state court and sentenced him to 10 years, but a Federal grand jury then indicted him for violating Morales' civil rights and causing his death. The police officer was convicted and sentenced to life in Federal prison. His wife was sentenced to three years in prison and Baldwin was sentenced to 18 months in prison after their convictions as accessories.

- Glendale, California's police department, in June 1980 was sued for \$77 million by that city's Faith Center Church and charged with violating the church's civil rights and the First Amendment. The church's pastor, W. Eugene Scott, claimed officers burst into the church without a search warrant and handcuffed ministerial intern James Castillo and broke his wrist. Police said they entered the church suspecting a robbery was in progress because they noticed another ministerial intern, Keith Hardine, loitering in front of the church building. Hardine is black.

"Police abuse of Hispanics has never been recognized as a national issue," said Jerry Mandel of the National Council of La Raza, which is completing a year-long study of five U.S. cities that have experienced police-community relations problems. "In general, the police have never crossed the line into the Hispanic community. Too many cities and police officials still refuse to acknowledge there is a problem. Instead, there is a hardening of positions on both sides," Mandel

said

"There is more distrust by both sides of each other," said Flores Amaya, coordinator of MALDEF's anti-crime program. "The people feel they are abused by police, and the police feel they are intimidated by people who are filing complaints against police officers."

James Harrington, an American Civil Liberties Union attorney, has filed suit against more than a dozen McAllen, Texas police officers and forced the city to release videotapes of police officers beating, kicking, slapping and verbally abusing inmates. He has won more than \$400,000 in jury verdicts, and agreed that police have taken a defensive posture against the community.

"It has become 'us against them' with the police," Harrington said. "And the first thing that happens when someone files a complaint against a police officer is that the city council immediately takes the position of protecting the officer, instead of trying to determine if there is really a problem with police abuse."

Houston's police union president, Don Cook, estimated earlier this year that 5 to 10 percent of Houston's officers carry pocket-sized tape recorders to protect themselves from the police administration and from citizens making false charges of abuse. "The administration doesn't back police like they used to, so officers are beginning to protect themselves," Cook said.

Hickman, of the Dallas Police Association, said officers feel threatened and demoralized because courts increasingly side with criminals. "And that reflects onto the citizens," Hickman said. "A lot of times there is really nothing that the citizen has done, and the bad feelings of the officers shouldn't be passed on to the citizens, but the officers are working in an atmosphere of discontent, and it happens."

Relations are not deteriorating in all communities, though. In San Jose, California, once labeled a problem area by Federal authorities, the police department has become a model. Joe McNamara former Kansas City police chief and a protege of New York's police commissioner Patrick Murphy, was





hired in October 1976 to reform the city's police department. He held community meetings, relocated the citizens complaint office out of the main police building and into the community, and rewrote job responsibilities so officers of all ranks would know precisely in what ways they would be held accountable.

Deputy Chief Ike Hernandez, a 23-year veteran of the force, said some officers who had been in the department for years had to be re-trained for the position they already held. Salaries were increased (starting pay for San Jose police officers is about \$22,000 per year, one of the highest in the country), officers were enrolled in Spanish classes, screening procedures for applicants were strengthened and community representatives were asked to participate in pre-hiring interviews. "You do it all by establishing credibility with the people," said Hernandez. "It takes professionalism, and if you have that, then all the things that we did here will work anywhere."

Civil rights attorneys contend that the courts have offered some remedy. "There are very few criminal cases that are filed against police officers, but we have a great many settlements out of court on suits that citizens have filed against police officers," said Julian Klugman, San Francisco regional director for the Community Relations Service. William Messing, a Tucson attorney who has filed several suits charging police officers with abuse, said lawsuits serve to restrain officers. "That's what a lawsuit is supposed to do, make them more careful," Messing said. "The police are afraid of suits."

But the cost of litigation can be prohibitive, and because most of the Hispanic victims of police abuse are young blue-collar workers with low incomes, a suit is often a last measure. If the victim is an illegal alien, said Tucson Legal Aid attorney Margarita Bernal, officers have an even better chance of avoiding punishment. "It is especially hard for these people to assert themselves. If they are in detention, they are subject to the intimidation of being deported. And immigration authorities can make it even more difficult to find witnesses by spreading these people in

camps around the country or simply by deporting them," she said.

Dialogue between police officials and community organizations is increasing. In Texas, the Community Relations Service and a coalition of five Hispanic organizations held two major conferences in 1979 that brought the heads of police agencies and hundreds of community organizations together for discussion.

In Southern California, Los Angeles County's district attorney has formed a special team called the Roll Out Unit to investigate every shooting by a city or county police officer. A deputy district attorney and an investigator independent from any police agency is dispatched to the scene of every shooting to gather evidence.

"Before," said Lt. Dewey Shoemaker of the district attorney's bureau of investigation, "the DA's office didn't get involved in these shootings until months later, and by then it was difficult or impossible to get certain questions answered because the evidence just didn't exist anymore."

A number of police officials from rural California towns have quietly approached the Community Relations Service for help in soothing relations with their communities, according to Angel Alderete, formerly a mediator with the agency's San Francisco office: "They aren't admitting that they have been doing anything wrong, and they want to make changes with as low a profile as possible, but that is better than making no change at all."

While more vigorous recruitment of minorities by police departments alone will not solve existing problems of police abuse, there is wide agreement that it will help. But rural areas present a particular recruitment problem. County and city governments with small budgets have little money to spend finding and screening for quality recruits, and fail to develop police programs tailored to deal with the problems of fast-growing communities. The result, Alderete said, is strained relations between the police and the community.

Police take another view. Capt. William J. Newman, director of the Dallas Police Department internal affairs div-

Other Outrages in Arizona

Even when U.S. law enforcement officials arrest and prosecute white citizens, they have brutalized Mexican aliens, all-white juries can derail justice, some Hispanic leaders say

by Louis Sahagun

Manuel Garcia Loya's vision blurred as he ran naked and bleeding through the blazing desert near Douglas, Arizona, hoping to reach Mexico a few miles to the south on the afternoon of August 18, 1976. Behind him, he said, were three armed Cochise County ranchers who moments before had robbed, tortured, and shot at Loya and two of his companions when they made the mistake of crossing the U.S.-Mexico border on foot through the ranchers' land. "I finally reached the line and jumped into Mexico. . . . When I jumped the fence I fell on an ant hill and passed out. . . . Loya would later tell a Federal court jury hearing the case. When he came to, he recalled how earlier that day he, Bernabe Herrera Mata and Eleazar Ruelas Zavala entered this country to find work but instead found hell.

When the Mexicans finally landed in an Agua Prieta, Sonora, Mexico hospital that afternoon, Cochise County sheriff's deputies were alerted and began an investigation. Using the information provided by the injured trio, investigators narrowed their list of suspects to a few local ranchers who lived in the sparsely populated area where the Mexicans said they were attacked. The Mexicans later identified Thomas and Patrick Hanigan through photographs in high school yearbooks supplied by sheriff's deputies as two of the men involved in the incident.

Identifying the well-known Douglas-area ranchers as their assailants highlighted the case that would drag on through state and Federal courts in Arizona for five years. The Hanigan case remains a focal point for Hispanics who claim undocumented people from Mexico have endured decades of brutality at the hands of Anglos along the border. Although the brothers were cleared in 1977 of multiple state robbery and kidnap charges, a Phoenix Federal court jury four years later would convict Patrick Hanigan on three counts of violating the Hobbs Act by robbing the Mexicans and thereby illegally preventing them from entering the workforce. Thomas Hanigan was acquitted by a separate jury hearing the same case. Their father George Hanigan, who was also originally charged in the state's proceedings, died before the case ever went to trial.

The Hanigan trial was one of two celebrated cases to occur in Southern Arizona within the last two years which Hispanics hoped would set a legal precedent by demonstrating that harassment of undocumented workers along the border would not be tolerated. On the evening of October 7, 1980, U.S. Border Patrol authorities in Tucson received an anonymous call saying that a man was chained to a tree at a ranch located about 60 miles southeast of Tucson.

When law enforcement authorities arrived a few hours later, they found Manuel Hernandez-Garcia, 20, of Vera Cruz, Mexico, frightened and hiding in a closet of a small bunkhouse of a ranch belonging to Sonoita, Arizona rancher Walter M. "Bo" Burris, 28. Hernandez would later tell sheriff's investigators that Burris had tied him to a tree with a chain around his neck for 24 hours without giving him food or water because he thought Hernandez had taken some of his tools. He also said he had worked 14-hour days at the Burris ranch for \$7 a day from mid-August until the incident occurred.

Before the Burris trial closed, defense attorney Thomas Higgins said his client was under a lot of strain at the time of the chaining. Higgins also argued that Burris had been victimized by an "overcharged" county attorney's office which had turned the trial into a "political case." Deputy County Attorney Geoffrey Cheadle responded, "It doesn't make any difference to anyone in the courtroom whether he (Hernandez)

was Mexican, American, or Oriental.... He shouldn't have been chained like an animal."

The jury may well have been persuaded by Cheadle's last point. On June 14, 1981 Burris began serving a five-year prison term in the state correctional facility at Perryville, Arizona. Had the jury found Burris guilty on all counts of unlawful imprisonment, kidnapping, and aggravated assault—and had added the deadly weapons charge to each count—Burris could have spent 30 years in prison. Patrick Hanigan was sentenced to serve three years in prison and has remained free pending the outcome of appeals filed by his attorneys to have the convictions overturned.

The way each case was handled in state and Federal courts has been criticized by civil rights advocates who watched them closely to see what they could expect from the American system of justice. Immediately after an all-white jury in Bisbee, Arizona, vindicated the Hanigans of multiple counts of robbery, kidnap and torture in 1977, Hispanic groups across the country became outraged at what they called a "travesty of justice" and demanded that Federal authorities take action.

What the Hispanics got in return did not entirely please them. Two years after their state court trial, the Hanigan brothers were indicted by a Federal grand jury in Tucson on three counts of violating the Hobbs Act.

"We were given a bone instead of the whole piece of meat," charged Antonio Bustamante, then coordinating secretary for the Washington, D.C. based, National Coalition on the Hanigan Case. "Sure, we were thrilled that they were indicted, but outraged that they (U.S. Department of Justice officials) were not going to use the full force of the law," Bustamante said when the indictment was returned October, 1979.

Hanigan defense attorneys filed a flurry of pretrial motions designed to have the Federal charges dropped on grounds the Hobbs Act was not applicable in the case because the Mexicans were not actually involved in labor when the incident oc-

curred, and because another trial in Federal court would constitute double jeopardy.

Before their first Federal trial began in Tucson June 26, 1980, U.S. District Court Judge Richard M. Bilby agreed in pretrial hearings that the Hobbs Act—normally used to prosecute white collar crimes—was being stretched to its "outer limits." However, he cited an appeals court decision that said a crime requires only a potential effect on commerce to prosecute under the act.

In both Federal trials, the Elfrida, Arizona rancher whom the Mexicans said they were prevented from working for because of their alleged capture by the Hanigans denied his business was affected by their not showing up for work.

A major concern by Hispanics who filled the courthouse seats and watched the trials was that the Hanigans be tried by a "jury of peers." That is, a jury comprised of a cross-section of nationalities that closely matched the areas from which the juries were called. None of the juries at the Hanigan's three trials met that standard. According to one Hispanic spokesman, "The Constitution calls for a jury of one's peers, and Chicanos, Indians, blacks apply as well as older middle class whites." And, he added, "Not every white person is racist, but when you have an all-white jury you recklessly increase the possibility that racists will carry the day."

Those sentiments were echoed just after the Hanigans' first Federal court trial ended in a mistrial when an eight-woman, four-man, all-Anglo jury failed to reach a verdict in the case. "We are upset, we are angry, we are sad," said Tucson Coalition for Justice spokesman Salomon Baldenegro. "This proves that when you go up against the system, Mexican, blacks and poor people rarely win."

ision, said there would be less abuse by officers if "people would only learn to get arrested. People should learn to submit to police officers," Newman said. "Not insult them, but submit with dignity, and if the officer is wrong then settle it in court. People shouldn't try to battle it out with the officer in the street, because in almost every case, the citizen is the one who is going to come out losing."

Kenneth Matulia, director of professional development programs for the International Association of Police Chiefs, said relations are often strained by police using force, but only because the increasing incidence of violent crimes is causing police to be more forceful.

La Raza's Jerry Mandel agrees that citizens want police to deal forcefully with major crimes. Said Mandel:

"But what the community gets upset about is when the police take somebody out in the weeds and beat the hell out of him, or when they shoot some guy in Russian roulette, or when they toss some guy into the creek. How far are they supposed to go?" ♦



Tom (left) and Patrick Hanigan.

Louis Sahagun is a reporter with the Los Angeles Times.

"Our crumbling inner cities"—a new American catchphrase. How to improve the lot of the minority urban poor who live amid the crumbling—a frustrating problem. Urban enterprise zones—to some an answer, to others a nightmare.

Urban Enterprise Zones

Odd Alliance, Good Idea

by Brenda Jimenez

Under a striped tent on a rubble-strewn area where presidential candidates have come and gone, jobs were what many of the people on campaign-weary Charlotte Street in the South Bronx said they wanted. At that public hearing on the proposed Reagan Administration budget last year, Congressman Robert Garcia (D-New York) returned to his constituents in the South Bronx with a concept President Reagan has called a top priority, one both men claim will provide the jobs sorely needed in distressed inner city areas.

Urban enterprise zones may "not be a panacea," Garcia has said, reacting to criticism of the concept, "but I feel we at least have to try it." The idea is to entice businesses to blighted urban areas by offering Federal tax breaks, including a reduction of capital-gains and income taxes. In return the companies would supply a substantial number of jobs.

Garcia and Congressman Jack Kemp (R-Buffalo) one of the nation's leading conservatives, have formed a surprising political alliance in their co-sponsorship of the "Urban Jobs and Enterprise Zone Act." The Congressional "odd couple" introduced the bill in Congress last June. Trailing behind was another "odd" array of supporters, as well as suspicion and cynicism at yet another urban renewal plan.

Among those endorsing the Kemp-Garcia bill are Congressional Black Caucus members Gus Hawkins (D-Calif.) and Bill Gray (D-Pa.), who helped revise the legislation. Big social-program supporters like the National Urban League and the NAACP have joined minority businesses in also giving support. But blessings are not bestowed on the bill by everyone. House member Charles A. Vanik (D-Mich.) sent a letter to colleagues headed: "Beware of any Kemp bill..." And before the Senate Finance Committee in July, Kemp tried to dispel fears that the bill is part of an anti-poor "hidden agenda."

Neither tax incentives nor enterprise zones are new ideas.

(continued on next page)

Brenda Jimenez is a freelance writer living in New York City.

Little Freedom in the Free Enterprise Zones

by Antonio M. Stevens-Arroyo

One of the admirable traits of the American spirit is its willingness to try new things. From pioneer to astronaut, the United States has become famous for its search for new frontiers. So when a concept like free enterprise zones is presented as a new idea for "greening urban America," it appeals to the best in the American character.

The idea is to attract business and industry to inner cities by telling businesses that they can pay little or no taxes on profits made through such investments. Students of legislation predict that salaries would be fixed lower than the national average and enforcement of pollution, health and other safety standards would be lowered so that the costs of running a factory would go down, thereby leading to higher profit margins. Factory expansions in such areas would become more attractive and, say the sponsors of the bill, the presently unemployed living in these zones will have jobs—even if for less money. Moreover, once working they will no longer require welfare benefits and the diminished need for government payments eventually will reduce inflation. This is the bold new plan that is supposed to make impoverished city areas a new frontier for economic growth.

It must be said, however, that free enterprise zones are not a new idea. Read the 19th century novels of Charles Dickens, peopled as they are with unattended orphans, professional thieves, impoverished workers and miserly Scrooges in order to get an idea of how free enterprise zones have functioned in the past. More recently, one can examine the consequences of these zones by paying closer attention to the economic history of Puerto Rico, where that entire Caribbean possession of the United States was made into a free enterprise zone. Called "Operation Bootstrap," the ambitious plan of industrialization that began on the island in the early 1950's offers a useful perspective on

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(continued)

What is a "radical new concept," according to the bill's proponents, is the approach to reviving economically destroyed inner city areas throughout the country. The bill may be a go-for-bust situation for Garcia, whose district's population has dropped from 462,030 to 238,949 in the past 10 years, according to 1980 Census figures. "We've tried just about every possible Federal urban renewal program in our district," one of Garcia's aides said. "They haven't worked. That's why we're willing to try this approach."

Garcia cites a number of statistics which place America's minorities and the mostly Puerto Rican, Dominican and black residents in his district in the middle of a national tragedy. During 1979, "11.6 percent of the U.S. population was considered to be living in poverty," compared to New York City's 18 percent estimate—and in the South Bronx, a "staggering 29.3 percent of its residents live in poverty." As for unemployment, Garcia pointed out that the city's figures were higher than the national average and that "together blacks and Hispanics make up 27.9 percent of all those unemployed."

Poverty and unemployment, the "symptoms of urban decay," have not been "alleviated" by Federal programs, although by 1979, "the federal government was spending close to one-fourth of its non-defense budget in central cities," said Kemp. Private investment encouraged by tax incentives, concludes Kemp, "will draw a green line" around the nation's poor neighborhoods. But both Kemp and Garcia

take pains to stress that their intention is not to supplant existing social programs. "I don't see enterprise zones as a replacement for the safety net of existing programs," said Kemp. "But I'm trying to remove the need for the net as much as possible."

Under the Kemp-Garcia bill, an urban area with at least 4,000 people would qualify as an enterprise zone if it has an unemployment rate at least 1-1/2 times the national average or if a substantial number of its families were earning less than poverty level. A dramatic loss of population—10 percent—and evidence of abandonment would also qualify the area. Described as the "most competitive" of four enterprise zone bills introduced to Congress by the National Council for Urban Economics Development (CUED), the Kemp-Garcia bill is essentially a give and take agreement between local governments and the private sector. A binding contract commits the state or city to offer incentives, probably a reduction in property taxes levied on the businesses and an increase of services such as fire and police protection. Businesses moving into, or remaining in these areas get the tax breaks—with some strings attached. To receive any tax benefit a company must first expand its workforce by 10 percent. And 40 percent of all new employees must be CETA-eligible.

Kemp argues that private investment "will draw a green line" around the nation's poor neighborhoods.

Designed to be simple and straightforward, the major tax provisions in the Kemp-Garcia bill will bypass the gaggle of expensive accountants and lawyers who are the bane of small, young businesses, according to the bill's proponents. These companies, of 20 or fewer employees, are the "real-risk takers," said Garcia, and are the special targets of the tax incentives because of their job creation potential.

According to supporters of the Kemp-Garcia bill, small businesses provide a majority of all new jobs nationally and a large share of new jobs taken by blacks and Hispanics.

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If established in 1982, the enterprise zone tax benefit package would be effective for a 20-year-period, until the year 2002. Some of the provisions would:

- Offer a refundable income tax credit for all employees in eligible businesses not to exceed \$1500 per person. Businesses will receive a refundable tax credit equal to five percent of wages paid to CETA-eligible workers.
- Eliminate capital gains tax for taxpayers within the zone.
- Eliminate income tax on 50 percent of business income and interest on loans to zone businesses.
- Allow cash accounting if annual gross receipts are less than \$2 million dollars.

Critics who claim that enterprise zones will create low-skill jobs are dismissed as "purists."

Dropped from the revised bill was the politically dicey provision of reducing the Social Security payroll taxes on employers and employees. That "political hot potato" provision was replaced by the tax credit, "which is a direct federal outlay," according to Carol A. Patrylick, CUED's Director of Legislative Analysis. However, the idea behind the tax credit is the same: to cancel disincentives of after-income wages, especially for low skill workers. "A person today who gives up welfare or employment benefits to take a job that provides scarcely more, if any, in after-tax income than those benefits provide is just not being realistic," said Kemp.

Apparently, Kemp and Garcia have gained some key allies from the minority community for their bill. "The bottom line is that the people in these communities need jobs. They want to work," said National Urban League, Vice President, Maudine Cooper. She noted that while making revisions to their package, Kemp and Garcia sought advice from several organizations, including the League, and she dismisses as "purists" some critics who claim that enterprise zones will create a myriad of low-skill jobs. "We need

plenty of jobs—of all types," said Cooper.

Minority businesses see the bill as a unique opportunity. "Urban enterprise zones will give our businesses a slightly fairer shot at getting a more meaningful piece of the economic pie," said Steven Dillinger, president of the Latin American Manufacturers Association (LAMA).

Nevertheless, the Kemp-Garcia bill has been mired in a series of studies, debates and suspicion that the plan will ultimately profit business at the expense of the poor. The establishment of foreign trade zones encouraged by the Kemp-Garcia bill will attract assembly-businesses "dependent on the uncertainties of international demands," the very businesses that "historically have been the most mobile and least consistent with long term community stability," according to a report of the Urban Research and Strategy Center based in the Bronx. And some urban experts are concerned about the loss of revenue to the city. "Can a city, already burdened by tax abatement and incentive programs afford additional loss in tax revenues?" asked Andrew Parker, professor of Public Administration at Baruch College who is writing a book about urban enterprise zones. A New York City task force of the Office of Economic Development concluded that the present tax dispensations would have to be far more radical to generate the intended growth of new jobs.

Many question whether Congress will be in the mood for further tax cuts after the major tax bill passed in 1981. But LAMA's president, Steven Dillinger, boils down the potential of the bill to one of his 400-member association. The Welbilt Electronics Die Corporation at 595 Gerard Avenue in the Bronx, "has hired people off the public assistance rolls and trained them in high technology jobs," said Dillinger. The company is not only doing well, but John Marriotta, Welbilt's president, has saved the government money, including "\$1 million a year for the Defense Department for a cooling kit for armored carriers," according to Dillinger. All this in about 15 years without CETA funds or the types of tax cuts which would be offered in enterprise zones.

"Not easily replicable," for areas like the South Bronx, Dillinger admits. But this type of success story, hopefully expanded, "encapsulates what enterprise zones are really about." ♦

Urban Enterprise Zones

Little Freedom in the Free Enterprise Zones

(continued)

what two decades worth of experience with free enterprise zones can produce.

While the changes in Puerto Rico were tremendous, they were not all for the best. True enough, the investors found that they made double and triple the profits in Puerto Rico's free enterprise zones above and beyond what they would have reaped by investing in areas where the tax rates were normal. But the imbalance between the increase of profits for the investors and the low wages of the workers kept increasing. Today, some twenty-five years after the carefully planned and intensely studied Puerto Rican free enterprise zones, some economists recognize serious flaws inherent in the concept.

Generally overlooked by supporters and critics of the concept alike is the fact that its theory and application are based on greed. No matter that it is given such perfumed names as "economic revitalization" and "capital mobilization." The truth is that greed is an ugly human tendency and there are no safeguards to prevent the corporations from increasing their demands for more and more profits despite the unfairness of keeping salaries and protection for workers as low as possible. If, as has happened in Puerto Rico, the government attempts to intervene against the huge advantage given to business and legislate for the benefit of all the people, the corporations threaten to move elsewhere to another "free enterprise zone." In other words, the lower status of the worker in these sectors is not a temporary one—permitted only as long as the economy is sluggish or until the people acquire necessary job skills. It becomes a permanent and stable condition of inferiority.

In Puerto Rico these social conditions were made tolerable by subsidizing about 56 percent of the island's 3.5 million inhabitants with food stamps and other forms of welfare programs. The 1978 Kreps Report, commissioned by the Carter Administration found that the U.S. taxpayer was footing the bill for free enterprise zones on the island, while the profits that came from the work of the Puerto Ricans went directly into the pockets of the investors who paid no taxes on their earnings.

Free enterprise zones in the U.S. will do the same, increasing the need for welfare programs, not reducing them. In fact, one can expect that creation of these zones extends welfare to businesses. This accelerates a trend to eliminate corporate income taxes. Thirty years ago, on the theory that the wealthy corporations could better afford to pay taxes than the individual citizens, Uncle Sam drew one tax dollar in four by taxing business profits; today it is one in ten. Within free enterprise zones, it could well disappear completely and even create instances where the government pays a corporation to operate. Professor Daniel Halperin of Georgetown University's Law Center thinks the new Federal tax policy augers the repeal of the corporate income tax. He told a *New York Times* reporter in Austin that "We now seem to be moving to a zero or even negative tax on capital."

Students in a Puerto Rican Studies course at Brooklyn College, upon studying the Kemp-Garcia proposal for free enterprise zones called them "urban slave plantations," "industrialized Indian reservations," and even "economic concentration camps." These students, most of whom represent the coming generation of black and Hispanic professionals, did not use these harsh terms because they thought that the zones would fail. On the contrary, they well understood the level of frustration in the ghettos and felt that the enterprise zones would exercise great attractiveness.

"Who is going to live on the south side of the street when 25 yards away on the north side, jobs, housing and schools are to be found?" asked one young Puerto Rican. His experiences in growing up in the ghetto convinced him that the free enterprise zones would destroy what was left of a sense of community by enticing all the "good people" to move away. But since the new zones would be controlled for the sake of business, wage earners' aspirations for a better life

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would be eternally frustrated by the inability to move into the middle class without having to uproot the family and leave the enterprise zone.

Indeed, the most pernicious aspect of the Kemp-Garcia proposal is that it may well perpetuate and intensify the drift of the U.S. towards a dual economy. A dual economy is dangerous because it allows one part of the population to be employed in jobs with high technology and upward mobility, while condemning other people—if they work at all—to dead-end jobs with marginal salary and no future. "People are so desperate for jobs," said one black student, "that they will jump at any chance without realizing that they are condemning themselves and their children to perpetual second-class citizenship." Her fear was that the short-range advantages of the free enterprise zones will entice many of the nation's poor to sell their civil birthright for a proverbial bowl of lentils. Simply put, the free enterprise zones make it possible to have separate sets of tax laws, salary scales and health standards for people living inside our urban ghettos and those living elsewhere in the U.S., a situation which imperils the whole concept of civil rights.

Dead-end jobs with marginal salaries will condemn the poor to perpetual second-class citizenship.

Moreover, there are no monitoring or civil rights enforcement measures built into the new legislation. It is like taking a tiger out to stroll on a leash made out of string. The transnational corporations, which control the marketing of more than 80 percent of all sales in the U.S., will be able to bend whatever good intentions are behind free enterprise zones to their own interests. The lesson to be learned from Puerto Rico—and from Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea as well—is that both government and prosperity will be determined by the needs of business. The free enterprise zones will increase the dependency of us all upon the decisions made by non-elected executives whose principal purpose in life is to increase profits for their companies. One need not condemn businesses for making money—but neither should one surrender to them the task of making deci-

sions for the common good.

To be sure, there are good things to be found in the concept of free enterprise zones. The goal, according to Kemp-Garcia co-sponsor Rep. Jack Kemp, is "full employment of all Americans without inflation." Moreover, the zones could take us a step away from bureaucratic empires and legislative utopianisms which have bloated government and often made it an obstacle to social cooperation. But why not trust the people and provide incentives to their more noble instincts rather than to greed? Commenting on Detroit's mayor's offer to build a Cadillac plant for General Motors to keep industry in that city, the Reverend Charles Adams, a black Baptist minister there put it this way: "Give me a \$20 million plant and I'll build the cars!" Perhaps cooperative ownership of the new industries by local residents should be explored before all the advantages promised by the free enterprise zones are given to private concerns. From a civil rights perspective, such refocus would eliminate most of the harsher aspects of the plan because the control of the enterprises would be in the hands of the residents and would thus reduce the antagonisms that inevitably develop between employer and employee.

Finally, we ought not forget that this country was launched with a noble vision in 1776 that promised "liberty and justice for all." A government and a way of life was instituted which—despite its imperfections—was fundamentally designed to insure that every individual would be a citizen with rights equal to those of others, and that no special group or class would be given privileges which would set them apart from and above all others.

I submit that the free enterprise zones will accomplish just the opposite. They will divide this country even more. We already have deep racial and income divisions; the enterprise zones will make these divisions geographical and legalize them. They will escalate social tensions by establishing a double standard for employment and profits. Nothing could be more subversive of the aspirations for freedom and equality in America.

The free enterprise zones are anti-American because they are anti-people. If we are searching for a renewal of the American spirit as we prepare to enter the next century, it is not likely to be found by abandoning a commitment to liberty and justice for all. ♦

Room at the Top of Foggy Bottom?

by Ronnie Lovler

The seventh floor of the State Department is a sanctum. It's on the seventh floor that the offices of the Secretary of State and his top aides are located; floors five and six house the offices of the undersecretaries and deputy assistant secretaries, and so on down the line. Those upper floors are essentially a white male preserve.

Women and minorities have not only failed to reach the top echelons of Foggy Bottom in representative numbers, they are also still fighting for sufficient representation in the working diplomatic community that keeps both the State Department and America's international outposts going—the Foreign Service.

"Walk through the building and go from floor to floor and see how many blacks, Hispanics or women you see on the fifth, sixth or seventh floors that aren't clerical or secretarial employees," says James Parker, a recently retired Foreign Service officer and a past president of the Thursday Luncheon Group, an organization of black State Department employees. "It's only when you get down to the first floor and the basement that black faces become a majority."

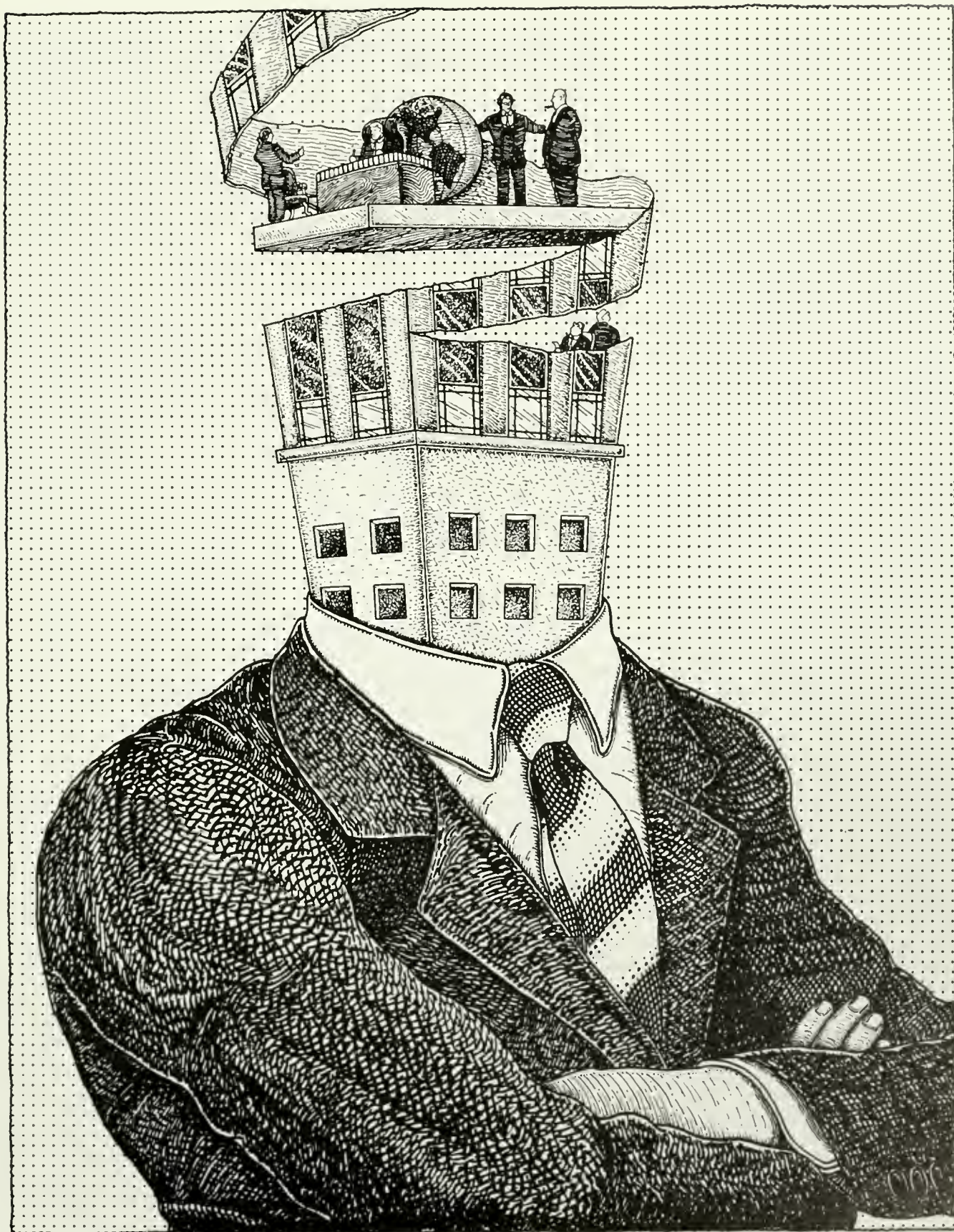
Instead of being "broadly representa-

tive of the American people" as prescribed by the 1946 Foreign Service Act, the Foreign Service's upper ranks have historically been the preserve of white males. Its 200-year-old parent organization, the State Department, is the oldest executive branch entity of the Federal government. And from its beginnings, this country's "Founding Fathers" looked to their own kind to represent the infant republic abroad. Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, John Jay and John Adams were among the State Department's first emissaries to other nations. A handful of blacks who served as ambassadors in the 19th century, such as Washington Irving and Frederick Douglass, only serve as exceptions to what became a long-standing "Gentleman's Agreement."

For the most part, the United States foreign service establishment has continued to dispatch white males as its official representatives to foreign countries. A second floor room in the Foreign Service Officers Club in Washington is lined with pictures of Foreign Service officer classes from the first half of this century. Rarely does a black or female face appear in the pictures or a Hispanic surname in the identifying text.

Records show only 11 blacks in the

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diplomatic and consular services in 1908, and a scant three in 1938. There is no evidence of a Hispanic presence in the Foreign Service until recent years, and it wasn't until 1922 that a female Foreign Service officer was appointed.

[The Service] has been very much of a Northeastern white male club," says Jean Mammon, president of the Women's Action Organization, an association of women holding Federal foreign affairs jobs. "And women don't belong in that club even if they are white and from the Northeast and went to the same schools. And of course black men...and black women don't make it."

Programs have been started in recent years to encourage minorities to join the Foreign Service, either at an entry level as a junior officer or at a middle level for professionals who want to make a mid-career switch. Both programs have had some impact on the makeup of the diplomatic corps, but not much.

An equal employment opportunity report presented to Congress in 1981 listed 5.5 percent (171 out of 3,110) of Foreign Service officers as members of minority groups. Women, treated separately without reference to ethnic background, comprised 9.9 percent of the corps, with 315 female Foreign Service officers.

Statistics from a December 1979 State Department report for top-ranking career Foreign Service officers show a dismal picture: all 31 deputy chiefs of missions who were then the ranking career Foreign Service officers in their embassies were males, and all but one was white. And of 622 senior-level Foreign Service officers, 586 were held by white males. Only ten blacks and eight Hispanics—all males—and 17 non-minority women had made it to the top.

More recent figures, however, do show some improvement. Women and minorities make up almost half of the 245 new Foreign Service officers who have entered the Service during Fiscal Year 1981. Minority men and minority women accounted for a combined 22 percent, while white women occupied another 24.4 percent of the new arriv-

als. And the percentage of women at senior levels had increased from 9.1 percent in 1980 to 11.1 percent by August, 1981.

"It's not spectacular," admits an official of the department's EEO office. "But when you think of the tradition of this being a white male domain, it's like a salmon swimming upstream. You make progress slowly."

The official added, however, that he was encouraged by the latest statistics. "This is an indicator of the impact of affirmative action at the recruiting and hiring levels. If we can keep this up, this hiring of women and minorities, we will be able to change the overall picture."

"When you think of the Foreign Service being a white male domain, it's like a salmon swimming upstream. You make progress slowly."

Andrew Steigman, deputy director of personnel, says he believes the department has made enormous gains in putting together a representative Foreign Service. "We have been out in front. I don't know any other Federal agency that has gone as far," he said. "The State Department was one of the first to abandon and do something about its legacy of previous discrimination."

But Jean Mammon, who has left for Togo to serve as an embassy public information officer, says there has been a "pattern" within the Foreign Service designed to keep women off the fast track to success. She claims women are generally assigned to smaller posts where they are less visible and given less opportunity to develop the skills needed to handle more prestigious assignments.

"All of my early posts were in small, out-of-the-way places," says Mammon, a 17-year veteran of the Foreign Service who spent the first decade of her career in Guinea, Upper Volta, Ethiopia and Senegal. "When I reached mid-level, people would say that since I

had only experience in small posts, I couldn't possibly be sent to a larger mission. That's where discrimination comes in—with the whole early assignment pattern. That later becomes a justification for refusing to move women up the career ladder."

Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service recently highlighted the scarcity of women in high-level posts when it held a symposium on "Diplomacy: The Role of the Wife." Before introducing the speakers, Martin F. Herz, a former ambassador, noted that some had questioned why the symposium did not deal with the role of the "spouse." Herz said that despite the school's best efforts to locate men who might have accompanied their wives on foreign assignments, none could be found. That disparity could stem in part from the previous State Department regulation that refused to allow a woman to continue in the Foreign Service if she married, a policy voided in 1971.

Institutional barriers to advancement for blacks, Hispanics and other minorities were also noted by James Parker, who spent 36 years in the Foreign Service. Parker retired last year after a career that included stints in a number of African, Latin American and European countries. Although he broke ground in a number of ways—he was the first black to serve in Spain, for example—he says it was never easy. "The Foreign Service is different from other parts of the Federal government. They claim there are opportunities for personal initiative, but you're still bound by a closed system."

Parker said young officers assigned to Italy, for example, as opposed to the Sudan, will get more of a chance to advance their careers. "Some posts are a lot more prestigious and carry a lot more weight than other posts.... You look at geography in an assignment."

There is also apparently still an "old boy network" operating within the Foreign Service. "If it's not [a network], it's so close to it that it really isn't funny," says George Sealy, former president of the Thursday Luncheon Group and a Foreign Service recruit under the mid-level affirmative action program.

"I've only been here 36 months, but I've heard people say, 'well, you remember my father, he was the deputy chief of mission over here. And my cousin was the ambassador of such and such a place.' That means 'I'm part of the inner group,'" Sealy said. "Now, there are not too many blacks who can move into this kind of arena where we can talk like this. So you can see some of the possible problems of mobility that a black has working his way in."

Steigman, however, disputes that assessment. "It's true that the corps as a whole still does not have representative numbers. But if you look at what we've done, especially at the lower levels, we've done remarkably well."

What's needed, Steigman says, is just time for the minorities who have just entered the Service to work their way up the ranks. He said the Department has made a conscious decision not to allow too many persons to enter the corps under the mid-level affirmative action program to keep from "destroying the concept of a career service." Promotions are made, Steigman says, according to the Service's internal needs, and if too many women and minorities entered under the mid-level program it would block upward mobility for those persons coming in at the junior level. "We can't have a quick fix without doing away with the idea of the Foreign Service as a career," he said.

Frank Gomez, a past president of the Hispanic Employees Council for the foreign affairs agencies, says minorities who have entered under the junior officer program have encountered resistance from the traditional Foreign Service corps because the program exempts them from taking a written examination. "There's a suspicion that coming in without the written examination is a *de facto* lowering of standards. But that is debatable because testing has been a subject of great controversy, not only for the Foreign Service, but in general," Gomez said.

In recent years the Foreign Service has revised its written test and interviewing procedures in an attempt to both make them more work-related and to weed out sexual, racial and eth-

nic bias. In the past, women and minorities have not attained scores as high as white males, but that is changing. Last year, for example, 13,000 persons took the written examination. Some 33 percent of the white males, 32 percent of the women and 11 percent of the minorities who took the test passed it, according to Margaret Barnhart, chief of the Service's recruitment branch.

Barnhart says the reason more white males may have passed the examination previously had to do with the types of subjects they studied in college. "More white males studied things such as economics and politics that might have helped them to do well on the examination. But that's not true anymore." She attributes the lower pass rate of minorities to the fact that fewer of them took the test—only 1,900 of the 8,000 men and 5,000 women who were examined. "You're dealing with a smaller figure, which I think accounts for the lower percentage."

"What is needed is just time for the minorities to work their way up the ranks," said one official.

Both she and Steigman see the special minority officer program as a temporary measure and say their goal is to have all new officers enter under traditional programs. "When we go out recruiting now," Barnhart says, "we encourage people to take the written test and enter the regular way. And Steigman says that 80 percent of the minorities who enter the Foreign Service this year "will be exam passers."

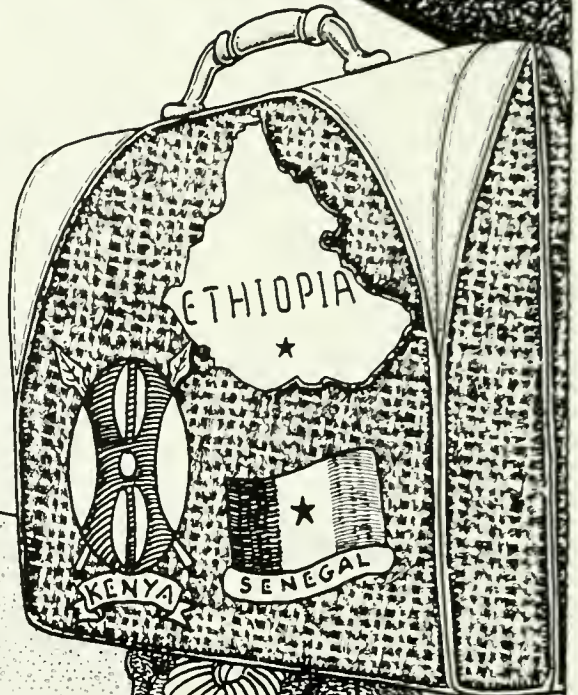
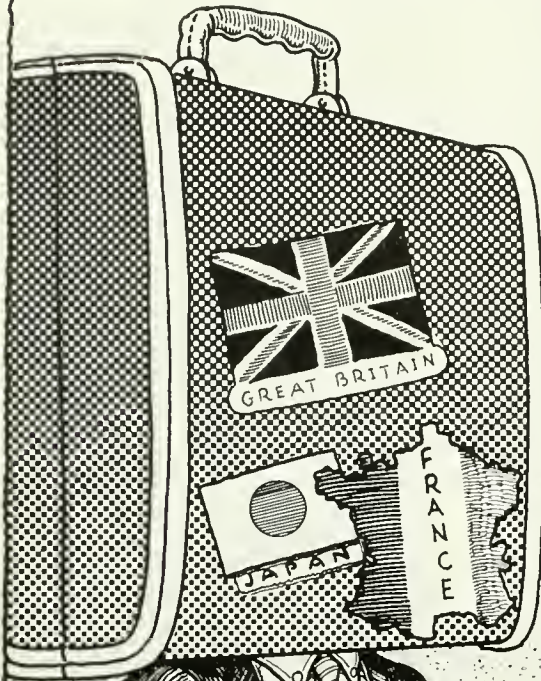
Little correlation has been found between success in the Foreign Service and performance on the written examination. Yet, whites have seen the junior officer minority program as a form of reverse discrimination. In Gomez's experiences, minorities who enter the Foreign Service via the written exam route are more easily accepted by the rest of the corps because "they have proven their ability."

Jose Armillas, president of the Asian-American Employees Council, agrees. "Exemption from taking the written examination may be beneficial initially, but philosophically we don't like it. The prevailing view in our group is that a person is tarred when he enters the Foreign Service by a different method."

Resistance to minorities is manifested in other ways. A high-ranking minority member of the Foreign Service said discriminatory attitudes were expressed in reaction to newspaper reports of increased visa abuses by U.S. consular officers in Latin America. Several diplomats told the *New York Times* they thought the malfeasance was a result of efforts to "democratize" the Foreign Service. "That use of the word 'democratize' is a euphemism for affirmative action. What they're saying here is people who were brought in through affirmative action efforts have a dubious moral character. That is the kind of attitude that prevails," the minority Foreign Service officer said.

In a paper written last year, Lois Roth, a Foreign Service officer stationed in Paris, noted how sexism could prevent a woman from receiving mid-career promotions if she is viewed as either a "complacent" female or a "pushy" careerist. Evaluation officers, she writes, must "avoid citing the societal values and assumptions that can tag a professional woman as either pliable, helpful 'nice girls' or women with 'personality problems.'" A group of Foreign Service officers have also taken their battle against sexism into the legal arena. Their class action suit, charging the State Department with discrimination against women in recruitment, hiring, promotions and job assignments, is pending in U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C.

Since it was only recently that any effort was made to bring minorities into the Foreign Service, there are few at the top. "Where we have the problem," says James Parker, "is that because the number of people we have had coming in through the past years was so very low...and with the fallout that occurs...you end up with very few people at the middle level who are then potential for senior level



positions."

The "fallout" that Parker was referring to is the dropout rate among those minorities and women who, once in the Service, find the obstacles put in their career paths too difficult to overcome. Jerry Drew was one of 14 blacks to win appointment to the Foreign Service in 1968. By 1979, Drew and eight other blacks in his class had left. Drew says he left principally because of racism: "The Foreign Service gives whites opportunities to express all kinds of racism abroad." Blacks are often viewed by others in the Service, he

says, as "political appointees...not having the same status" as white Foreign Service officers.

Minorities have also found discriminatory attitudes among members of the host governments in their overseas assignments. Drew says he felt personally isolated, even in Third World countries, because the black Foreign Service officer is "neither fish nor fowl."

No figures were available on the dropout rate in the Foreign Service, but Steigman said he did not think there was a significant difference ac-

cording to sex or racial group. "Frustrations are not unique to women and minorities," he said.

Diego Ascencio, the former ambassador to Colombia who emerged a hero after his embassy was raided and he and others were held hostage for two months in 1980, is now assistant secretary of state for consular affairs. He says he sometimes had the impression that "some Latin American governments would prefer a blue-eyed blond Anglo-Saxon. First of all, because they would be considered more representative of this society and perhaps more plugged into the government structure, and because they might consider a Hispanic candidate as patronizing. I gather that might have been the case in Africa, too."

Still, Jean Wilkowski, the first woman appointed as an ambassador to an African country, had only positive things to say about her reception in Zambia. In a speech to Foreign Service officers in 1980, Wilkowski said Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda told her he thought her appointment "would be an incentive for African women to embark on careers in public service." Wilkowski also repeated a conversation she had with the ambassador to Zambia from Tanzania when she asked him how he thought her mission would be regarded by the African nations. She said he told her, "You have it made...because you are a woman. We Africans trust and believe in women more than we believe in men."

The emergence of the new nations of Africa, Asia and the Caribbean in the late 1940s and 1950s had much to do with efforts to bring more women and minorities into the Foreign Service. This dismantling of the colonial empires of Western Europe foreshadowed the civil rights movement in the United States. While names of new countries began appearing on the maps, blacks, and then other minorities and women, started mobilizing to achieve social, political and economic equity at home.

Ironically, the worldwide demands by people of color for recognition and respect has led to some typecasting in foreign assignments: Hispanics fre-

Ambassador Diego Ascencio

Diego Ascencio, the assistant secretary of state for consular affairs, says his upbringing in the multi-ethnic neighborhoods of Newark, N.J., is the principal cause of his decision to seek a career in the Foreign Service.

"My high school yearbook reads like the roster of the League of Nations," he says. "It was not unusual to be able to eat kosher, go to Mass and hear an Irish priest, have a pasta dinner and then go down to the Lituianian Club and drink German beer."

Ascencio, the highest ranking Hispanic in the U.S. Foreign Service today, achieved international prominence in 1980, when, as U.S. Ambassador to Colombia, he and a group of other diplomats were held hostage by members of a leftist political organization in Colombia. His Foreign Service career began in 1957 and Ascencio quickly moved up with assignments in Mexico, Panama, Portugal, Brazil and Venezuela, before being appointed Ambassador to Colombia in 1977.

The 50-year-old Ascencio admits that his rise to the top is not typical of minorities within the U.S. diplomatic corps. "I am perhaps a throwback to a different era in the sense that I always wanted to be a Foreign Service officer. When maiden aunts would pat me on the head and ask me, 'what do you want to be when you grow up,' I'd say, 'I want to be an ambassador.'"

Ascencio is a believer in affirmative action and was a member of an internal State Department study group that recommended more active department recruitment of women and minorities. The group also urged a restructuring of promotion procedures to provide greater equity for women and minorities in moving up the career ladder.

Yet Ascencio stresses that he opposes promoting a person just because he or she is a member of a racial or ethnic minority. "If you have a minority officer in a particularly high visibility post...and he or she doesn't function adequately, the symbolic nature of the assignment...and its impact would be superficial."

Ascencio sees himself as a "bridge between Hispanic cultures and the U.S." Although his own career interest has been in Latin America, he does not think diplomats should necessarily be assigned to a country on the basis of ethnic or racial affinities.

Still, he feels that his captivity in Colombia had a happier ending because of his background as an Hispanic. If he hadn't been so conversant with the language, politics and culture of Colombia, says Ascencio, "I'd probably be dead."

quently still end up in Latin America, while blacks are assigned to Africa. But more often than not, such decisions are based in part on personal preferences. Except for a stint in Portugal, Diego Ascencio's foreign assignments have all been in Latin America, and he says he wanted it that way. "If a conscious decision is made to send blacks to Africa or Hispanics to Latin America, this is not necessarily good for the service. But I see no problem in assigning a Hispanic to a country at which he is particularly adept or

expert."

George Parker, who has not yet been assigned to an overseas post, says he would prefer to go to an African country. "I'm not saying I represent blacks across the board, but I've been a student of Africa and I see that as a racial identification thing.

"Then some of us feel that often we can give an added dimension to implement our foreign policy in many countries. At least in my experience, I have been able to develop different relationships with nationals of other countries

that white officers can't develop," he said.

Former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance is credited with doing more to advance affirmative action programs than any other secretary before him; he was cited by the black employees group for his "exemplary" commitment to affirmative action. It was Vance who commissioned Ambassador Philip Habib to make a study of recruitment and examination practices for bringing women and minorities into the Foreign Service. The Habib Committee recommended more emphasis on bringing women and minorities into the service through standard procedures that include a written examination. The committee also called for a written examination free of cultural and sex bias.

Minorities and women got a boost in their efforts for a more representative Foreign Service when Congress approved the 1980 Foreign Service Act. It is the first piece of legislation geared toward improving affirmative action plans at a specific Federal agency, and requires the State Department to establish a minority recruitment program. It also orders the department to place women and minority representatives on promotion panels and prohibits discriminatory practices in making overseas assignments.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig has stated his support for equal employment opportunity in an internal policy paper. "All of us," he said, "must make a renewed commitment to the creation of an atmosphere of full equality, and we must not relax in our efforts to provide equality of opportunity in all actions that affect employment."

If Haig lives up to his pledge, the State Department elevator could be carrying more minorities and women to the upper floors of the Department. It remains to be seen, however, on which floors the majority of women and minorities will step off the elevator. ♦

Ambassador Jane A. Coon

Jane A. Coon, the recently appointed U.S. ambassador to Bangladesh, was the first woman to be named head of an embassy in a Moslem country; she was also the first woman assigned to serve as an officer in Pakistan and as a consul in Bombay.

But where there was resistance to her assignments during her early years in the Foreign Service, today the 52-year-old Coon says her appointment is seen almost as a matter of course. In fact, she says, it wasn't until days after her nomination that it occurred to her that she had perhaps again broken ground. "I hadn't thought about it...nor have any of my male colleagues mentioned it. Which I guess says something about the change in mentality."

Coon is in the Foreign Service now for the second time. When she married Carleton Cook, now the ambassador to Nepal, she was forced to resign because of regulations that prohibited a female Foreign Service officer from marrying. When the policy changed in the early 1970s, she rejoined. Coon says she harbors no resentment about the policy's effect on her own career, because she would have quit anyway to care for her widower husband's six children. But she says the marriage rule was detrimental to both women and the Foreign Service.

"Back in the '50s and even in the '60s, you tended to get women coming in at the junior ranks, but because of the rule on marriage, they were pretty much winnowed out by the time they got to be middle grade officers," she says. "Women have always had to prove themselves above and beyond what was expected of men to get promotions," adds Coon. In my own career, I was always planning ahead and felt that I had to work twice as hard."

She has seen improvement. Ten years ago, it would have been considered "very unusual for a man to work for a woman and most men would have balked at such an assignment. Now that's no longer true."

She admits that "sometimes it's hard to differentiate between changes one has seen objectively and changes in one's own attitude. "Back in 1957 when people strongly objected to my going to Pakistan, it didn't occur to me that there was anything particularly peculiar about it. And it didn't even occur to me to get terribly outraged. It was just a fact of life. I didn't think of it as a violation of my civil rights."

Coon believes in affirmative action at the entry level, and last year went on a recruiting trip to black colleges in Atlanta. But, once in, she says, women and minorities should stand on their own merits. "This is a competitive service and people should compete on an equal basis once in the service. I am not a supporter of affirmative action after entry into the service."

Editors Note: In June 1981, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights published *Equal Opportunity in the Foreign Service, a study of minority and female employment in the Foreign Service.*

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